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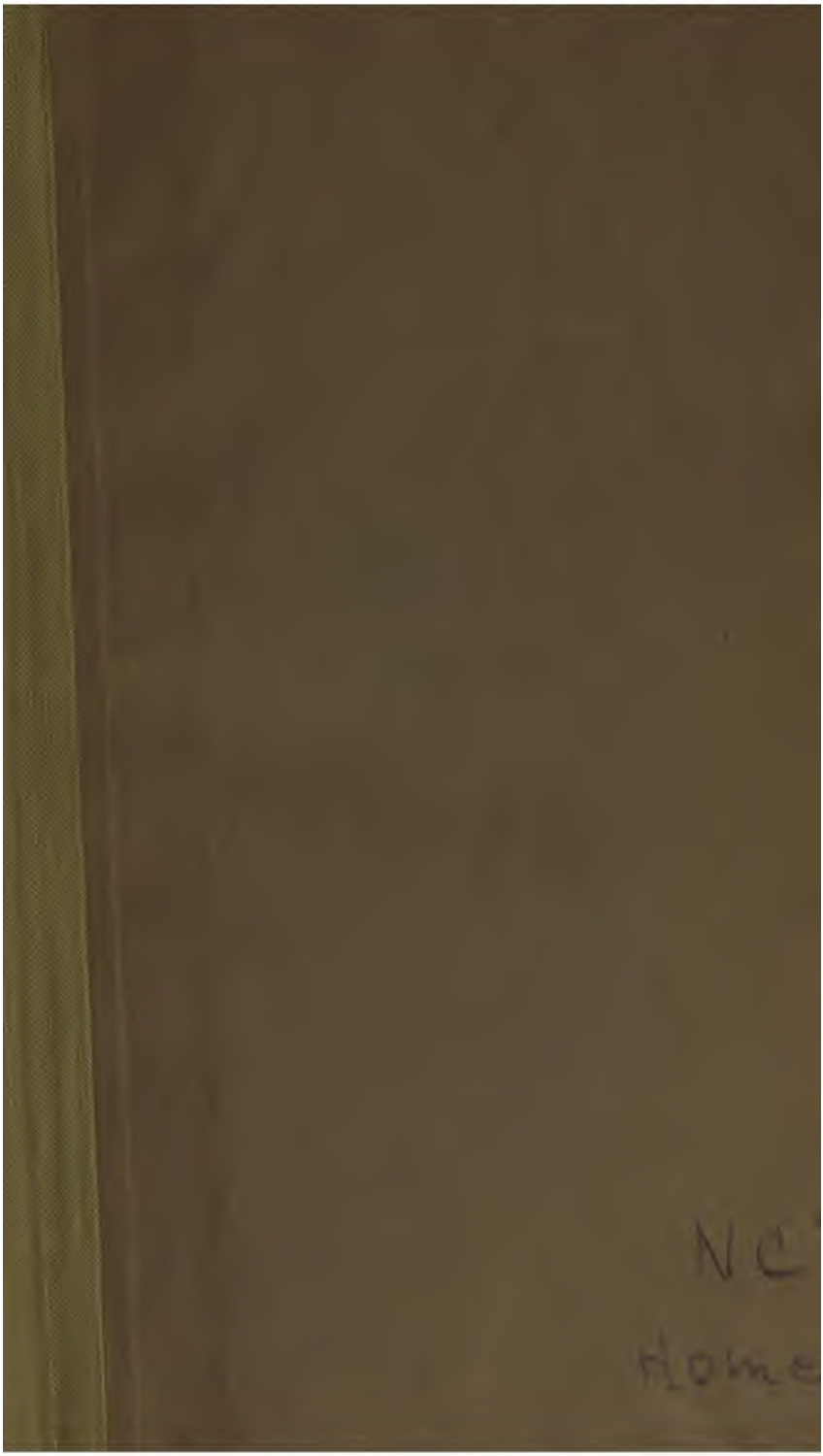
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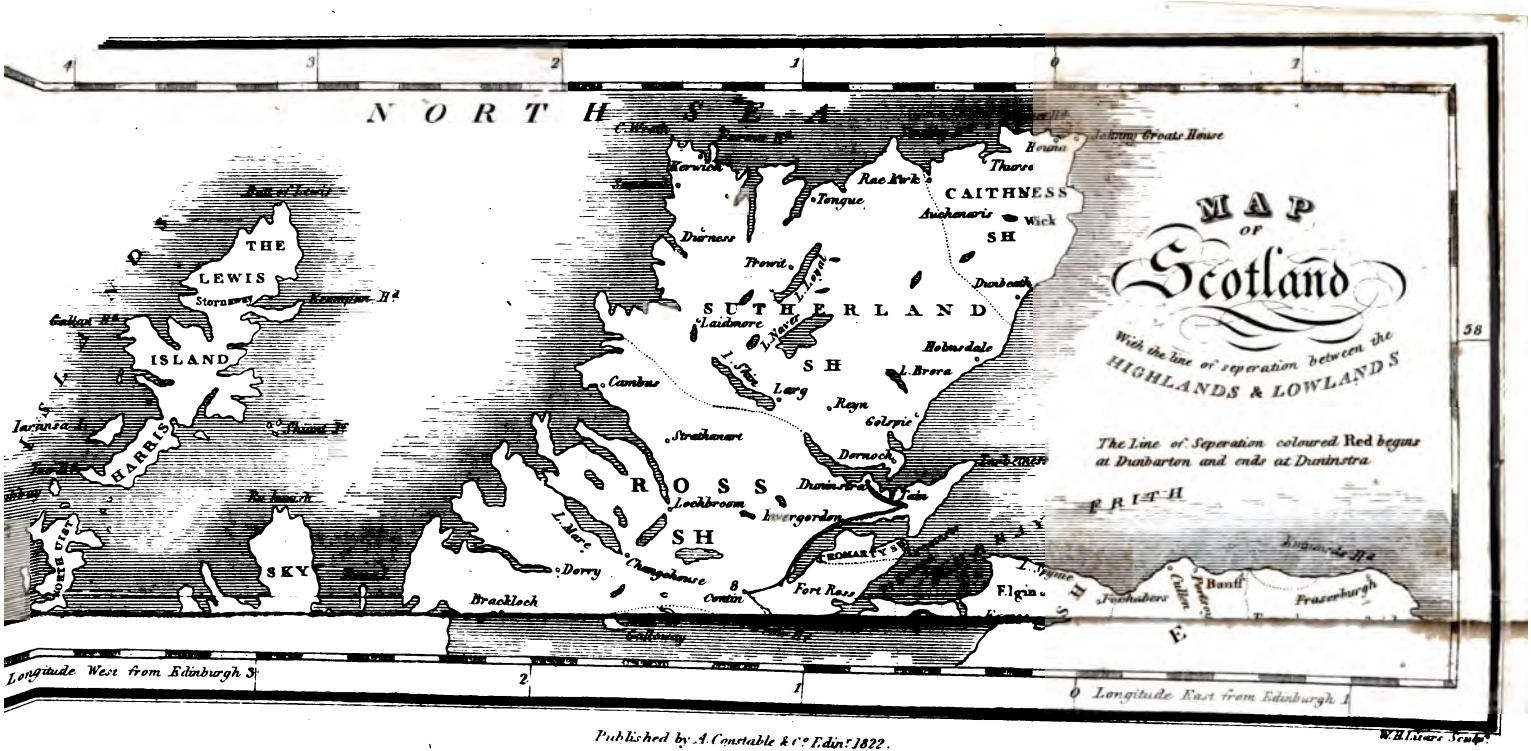
THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN HOME, Esq.



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W. H. Lizars Sculp.

THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN HOME, Esq.

NOW FIRST COLLECTED.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.

BY

HENRY MACKENZIE, Esq. F. R. S. E.
&c. &c. &c.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION

IN THE YEAR 1745.

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CHAPTER III.

Charles at Boradale—His Interview with Lochiel—Resolves to erect his Standard.—Commencement of Hostilities.—Sir John Cope—His Correspondence with the Secretary of State—Marches towards Fort Augustus.—The Rebels take post on his way to the Fort.—Sir John changes his Route.—The Rebels advance to the Southward.—Alarm at Edinburgh—Condition of the City.—The Rebels take possession of Perth.—Petition of the Citizens of Edinburgh for Leave to take Arms—The Petition granted.—Observations.

It is impossible to imagine an abode more suitable to the circumstances and designs of Charles than Boradale, which is one of the most remote and inaccessible places in the Highlands of Scotland, surrounded on every side by the territories of those chiefs, who, in former times, had fought the battles of the family of Stuart. From this retreat, Charles dispatched messengers to the chiefs from whom he

expected assistance. The first chief that came to Charles at Boradale, was Cameron of Lochiel. Donald Cameron, called by the Highlanders young Lochiel, (for his father was still alive, but attainted and in exile,) had succeeded, in the year 1719, to his grandfather Sir Ewen Cameron (of whom so many marvellous stories are told by his countrymen at this day.) Educated in the principles of his ancestors, Lochiel was devoted, like them, to the family of Stuart; and the old Pretender had conceived so great an opinion of the character and influence of this chief, that, in the year 1729,* he wrote him a letter with his own hand, in which he gives him full and ample powers to treat with such of his friends in Scotland as he thought might be trusted, and settle every thing that concerned his affairs. The Jacobites in the Highlands, and in the Lowlands of Scotland, were acquainted with the contents of this letter, and had recourse upon every occasion to Cameron of Lochiel. He was one

* The old Pretender wrote to Lochiel more than once with his own hand. The first letter (dated in the year 1727) was written to Lochiel, before he left Paris to go to the Highlands. In this letter James praises his zeal and loyalty, and assures him of his particular regard. The second letter, in which he gives him powers to treat with his friends in Scotland, is dated Albano, October 3, 1729. The former of these letters has been preserved, but the orignal of the second letter is lost; an extract or copy of it remains.—*Appendix, Nos. I. and II.*

of the seven, who, in the year 1740, signed the association which Drummond of Bohaldy carried to the old Pretender at Rome; and when the court of France, after the disaster at Dunkirk, withheld their aid, he was one of those who sent over Murray to dissuade Charles from coming to Scotland without a body of foreign troops; and he was not a little troubled when he received a letter from Charles, acquainting him that he was come to the Highlands, and desired to see him immediately. Lochiel complied with the request of the letter. He was no sooner arrived at Boradale, than Charles and he retired by themselves.

The conversation began on the part of Charles, with bitter complaints of the treatment he had received from the ministers of France, who had so long amused him with vain hopes, and deceived him with false promises; their coldness in his cause, he said, but ill agreed with the opinion he had of his own pretensions, and with that impatience to assert them, with which the promises of his father's brave and faithful subjects had inflamed his mind. Lochiel acknowledged the engagements of the chiefs, but observed that they were no ways binding, as he had come over without the stipulated aid; and therefore, as there was not the least prospect of success, he advised his Royal Highness to return to France, and to reserve himself and his faithful friends for a more favourable opportunity. Charles

refused to follow Lochiel's advice, affirming that a more favourable opportunity than the present would never come: that almost all the British troops were abroad, and kept at bay by Marshal Saxe, with a superior army: that in Scotland there were only a few new raised regiments, that had never seen service, and could not stand before the Highlanders: that the very first advantage gained over the troops would encourage his father's friends at home to declare themselves: that his friends abroad would not fail to give their assistance: that he only wanted the Highlanders to begin the war.

Lochiel still resisted, entreating Charles to be more temperate, and consent to remain concealed where he was, till he (Lochiel) and his other friends should meet together, and concert what was best to be done. Charles, whose mind was wound up to the utmost pitch of impatience, paid no regard to this proposal, but answered, that he was determined to put all to the hazard. "In a few days," said he, "with the few friends that I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain, that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, to win it, or to perish in the attempt: Lochiel, who, my father has often told me, was our firmest friend,* may stay at home,

* In these words Charles alludes to his father's letter, and the trust reposed in Lochiel.

and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince."—"No," said Lochiel, "I'll share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune hath given me any power." Such was the singular conversation, on the result of which depended peace or war. For it is a point agreed* among the Highlanders, that if Lochiel

* It is no less certain, though not so generally known, that Lochiel left his own house, determined (as he thought) not to take arms. In his way to Boradale, he called at the house of his brother, John Cameron of Fassefern, who came out immediately, and asked, what was the matter that had brought him there at so early an hour? Lochiel told him that the Prince was landed at Boradale, and had sent for him. Fassefern asked what troops the Prince had brought him? what money? what arms? Lochiel answered, that he believed the Prince had brought with him neither troops, nor money, nor arms; and, therefore, he was resolved not to be concerned in the affair, and would do his utmost to prevent Charles from making a rash attempt. Fassefern approved his brother's sentiments, and applauded his resolution; advising him, at the same time, not to go any further on the way to Boradale, but to come into the house, and impart his mind to the Prince by letter. "No," said Lochiel, "I ought at least to wait upon him, and give my reasons for declining to join him, which admit of no reply."—"Brother," said Fassefern, "I know you better than you know yourself. If this Prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases." Fassefern, in the year 1781, repeated the conversation between him and his brother to the author of this History.

had persisted in his refusal to take arms, the other chiefs would not have joined the standard without him, and the spark of rebellion must have instantly expired.

It was otherwise decreed. After Lochiel had consented to raise his men, and join the standard, letters were written from Boradale, and signed by Charles, (bearing date the 6th of August,) acquainting the chiefs of the main land, that the standard was to be erected at Glenfinnin, on the 19th of August, and requiring their presence there on the 19th, or as soon as possible thereafter. Young Clanronald undertook to go to the Isle of Skye, and inform Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of the rendezvous, and solicit them to join.

Lochiel returned to his own house, and sent messengers through Lochaber, and the adjacent countries, where his Camerons lived, requiring his chieftains to prepare, and hold their men in readiness to march to Glenfinnin with their chief. The same notice was given to their people by the other chiefs who intended to join the standard: but before the day of rendezvous came, some of the Camerons, and their neighbours the Macdonalds of Keppoch, spying an opportunity of attacking a detachment of the king's troops with advantage, these ready warriors of their own accord began the war. As the circumstances of the first encounter strong-

ly mark the state of the Highlanders when the rebellion broke out, it seems not improper to give a particular account of them.

The governor of Fort Augustus concluding from the reports which he heard, that the Highlanders were hatching some mischief, sent, upon the 16th of August, two additional companies of the first regiment of foot, to reinforce the garrison of Fort William.* The distance between these fortresses is twenty-eight English miles, and the road, called the Military Road, (as it was made by the king's troops,) is carried on for two-thirds of the way, having a tract of high mountains on one side, and the lakes Loch Oich, and Loch Lochie on the other. These lakes are separated by a narrow isthmus. Within eight miles of Fort William, stands High Bridge, built over the river Spean, a torrent which, confined by high and steep banks, and dashing amongst stones and rocks, is extremely difficult to pass by the bridge. Captain John Scott, (afterwards General Scott,) who commanded

* Fort William, Fort Augustus, and Fort George (called also the castle of Inverness,) formed the chain of forts which had reached from the east to the west sea. The country between Fort William and Inverness is one of the wildest parts of the Highlands, and was then inhabited altogether by the disaffected Clans.

the two companies,* had set out with them very early in the morning of the 16th, that he might reach Fort William the same day, for there are no quarters upon that road for any number of men. Captain Scott had left the lakes behind him, and was near High Bridge, when he heard a bagpipe, and saw some Highlanders on the other side of the bridge skipping and leaping about with swords and firelocks in their hands. The captain ordered his men to halt, and sent a serjeant with his own servant, to learn who these people were. When the messengers came near the bridge, two nimble Highlanders darted out, seized them both, and carried them to the party at the bridge. Captain Scott, ignorant of the number of his enemies, (for the Highlanders, shifting their ground, shewed themselves in different places,) and knowing that he was in a part of the country where the inhabitants were extremely disaffected to government, thought it more prudent to retreat, than to commence hostilities. Accordingly he ordered his men to face about, and march back again. The Highlanders who had taken post at the bridge, were not above eleven or twelve men, assembled and com-

* The two companies Captain Scott commanded, were the two additional companies of the second battalion of the Royal, and consisted altogether of new raised men.

manded by Macdonald of Tierndreich, who had for some time observed the march of the troops, and had sent expresses* to Lochiel and Keppoch to demand assistance. When the soldiers turned their backs, the Highlanders did not follow them immediately, but kept at a distance, (to conceal the smallness of their number,) till the troops had got about two miles from High Bridge, for the ground so far is somewhat plain and open; but as soon as the soldiers had passed the west end of Loch Lochie, and were got a little way upon the narrow road between the lake and the mountain, the Highlanders made their appearance, and ascending the hill, where there was shelter both of trees and rocks, began to fire at the soldiers, who still marched on with great expedition. The number of the Highlanders increased every moment; for the report of the pieces was heard far and wide, and the people from every quarter flew to arms. Captain Scott having reached the east end of Loch Lochie, descried some Highlanders on a hill at the west end of Loch Oich, and not liking their appearance, crossed the isthmus between the lakes, intending to take possession of Invergary, a place of some strength, which belonged to Macdonald of Glen-

* The houses of these chiefs were within three or four miles of High Bridge.

gary. He had not marched far, when he saw another body of Highlanders (who were the Macdonalds of Glengary) coming down the hill to oppose him. Captain Scott formed the hollow square, and marched on. The pursuers, joined by Macdonald of Keppoch, and a party of his men, came up very fast. Keppoch advanced alone, and called out to the troops to surrender, offering them good quarter; and assuring them, that if they attempted to resist they would be cut in pieces. The soldiers, surrounded on every side, laid down their arms. The affair was scarcely over, when Lochiel, with a body of his Camerons, arrived, took charge of the prisoners, and carried them to his house at Achnacarie. In this scuffle one or two of the soldiers were killed, and Captain Scott himself was wounded.

The Highlanders did not lose a single man; and their success in this first essay had no small effect in raising their spirits, and encouraging them to rebel. Charles had stayed at Boradale till young Clanronald, who had been sent to the Isle of Skye, returned with an unfavourable answer from Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod; he then proceeded to Kinlochmoidart, and remained there till the 18th of August, when he went by water to Glenaladale, upon the side of Loch-Sheal. In the morning of the 19th, Charles, with his attendants, who were not more than twenty or twenty-five,

(Clanronald being left behind in his own country, to raise men,) set out for Glenfinnin in three boats, and landed about mid-day at the east end of the lake, where the small river Finnin runs into Loch-Sheal.

Glenfinnin is a narrow vale, in which the river Finnin runs between high and craggy mountains, not to be surmounted but by travellers on foot. At each end of the glen is a lake about twelve miles in length; and behind the mountains on both sides of the glen, are other two lakes,* nearly of the same length. When Charles landed in the glen, Lochiel and his Camerons were not to be seen. Anxious for the arrival of this great auxiliary, Charles entered one of the hovels, which still stand there, and waited for about two hours. At last Lochiel with his men appeared on the top of the hill.

The Camerons advanced in two lines (each of them three men deep.) Between the lines were the soldiers taken on the 16th, marching as prisoners without their arms. Charles, elevated with the sight of such a clan (for the Camerons are said to have been 700 or 800 men that day, many of them without arms,) proceeded immediately to erect the standard.

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* One of these lakes is an arm of the sea, which the Highlanders call a salt-water loch.

The Marquis of Tullibardine unfurled the standard ;* and, supported by a man on each side, held the staff till the manifest and commission of regency were read, both dated at Rome, December, 1743.

In an hour or two after this solemnity, Macdonald of Keppoch arrived with about 300 men. In the evening of the same day, some gentlemen of the name of Macleod came to Glenfinnin, who disclaimed their chief, and offered themselves to return to the Isles, and raise all the men they could for the service of their Prince.

The same day that the standard was erected at Glenfinnin, Sir John Cope, Commander-in-chief for Scotland, left Edinburgh, to put himself at the head of his troops, which he had been for some time drawing together near Stirling,† that they might be in readiness whenever it was thought proper to march, and put a stop to the progress of the rebels.

From the beginning of summer there had been a report flying through the Highlands, that

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* The standard erected at Glenfinnin was made of white, blue, and red silk; and when displayed, was about twice the size of an ordinary pair of colours.

† Stirling is the post between the Highlands and the Lowlands, famous in the History of Scotland for the number of battles fought in its neighbourhood.

Prince Charles intended to come over that season; but the King's servants at Edinburgh heard nothing of it till the 2d of July, when the President of the Court of Session came to Sir John Cope, and shewed him a letter from a gentleman of consideration in the Highlands, acquainting him with a report current there, that the Pretender's eldest son was to land some where in the Highlands that summer, in order to attempt an insurrection: that though the writer of the letter gave no credit to the report, he thought it his duty to acquaint the President of it. The President assured Sir John Cope, that he agreed in opinion with the gentleman, and held the report to be groundless, but thought it necessary to let the Commander-in-chief know that there was such a report.

Qualified in this manner, and quoted as not likely to be true, the first intelligence of the young Pretender's design was conveyed by Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweedale, Secretary of State. From the time that Sir John Cope wrote this letter to the Marquis of Tweedale, which is dated July 2d, there appears in the correspondence * between them, a continual apprehension, on Sir John Cope's part, of invasion and insurrection, with an

* See the Correspondence, of which this letter (dated July 2,) is the first. Cope's Trial, page 105.

anxiety to prepare and provide against them; but almost every precaution which General Cope suggested, the Lords of the Regency * declined to take, lest they should alarm his Majesty's subjects too much, at a time when they themselves apprehended no immediate danger. However, their Lordships began very soon to apprehend there was some danger; for, on the 30th of July, the Marquis of Tweedale wrote to Sir John Cope, and acquainted him, that several informations had been laid before the Lords Justices, importing, that the French Court was meditating an invasion of his Majesty's dominions: that the Pretender's eldest son had sailed from Nantes in a French man-of-war, and was actually landed in Scotland, which last part (says the Marquis) I can hardly believe to be true. Letters of the same date were written to Lord Milton, the Justice Clerk, and to the King's Advocate, communicating to them the same intelligence, and enjoining his Majesty's servants to consult and concert together what was best to be done, to make the strictest inquiry into the *subject matter of this intelligence*, and to transmit to the Marquis constant accounts of any discovery they should make.

* The King was at Hanover, and did not return to England till the 31st of August.

Without waiting an answer from Scotland to these letters (which had been sent by express to Edinburgh, and arrived there on the 3d of August,) the Lords Justices published a proclamation in the London Gazette, August 6th, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds to any person or persons that should seize and secure the Pretender's eldest son, who, as their Lordships were informed, had embarked for Britain. Before the proclamation reached Edinburgh, it was known there that the Pretender's son had landed in the Highlands. For, on the 8th of August, an express came from the Lord Justice Clerk at Roseneath, * to the Commander-in-chief at Edinburgh, with intelligence that the young Pretender was landed in Arisaig; that part of the clan Macdonald were already in arms, and that other Highlanders were preparing to join them. The papers which contained this intelligence, Sir John Cope forwarded by express to the Marquis of Tweedale at London.

On the 9th of August, the Lord President called upon Sir John Cope, and acquainted him with the contents of a letter which he had received, by

* Roseneath is a seat of the Duke of Argyll in Dumbartonshire, where he usually stayed some time in his way to Inverary. The Duke and Lord Milton were there, when they received information that Charles was landed in the Highlands.

express, from the same gentleman who formerly had given him information of the young Pretender's design of coming to the Highlands.

The letter bore, that the young Pretender was upon the coast; and mentioned several persons by name, who were said to be with him.

This account coinciding with the intelligence from Roseneath, received no small degree of confirmation from the President's opinion, who told Sir John Cope that he believed it to be true.

Such was the state of intelligence (communicated only to his Majesty's principal servants, civil and military,) when the Gazette with the proclamation arrived. From that moment every body spake of nothing but the young Pretender, though very few people knew what to believe about him.

One day it was confidently affirmed, that he had landed in one of the Western Islands with ten thousand French: the very next day it was asserted with equal confidence, that he had landed in the Highlands without any troops; but that wherever he came, the Highlanders to a man had taken arms.

In opposition to both these reports, we were assured that Charles was still in France, and had not the least intention of coming to Britain.

This last account was industriously propagated for some time by the Jacobites, and their friends

who were in the secret, and had early notice that Charles was really come; but affecting to believe the contrary, they endeavoured to make the Commander-in-chief and his preparations appear ridiculous, not only by their talk, but by sending him anonymous letters, containing most absurd articles of intelligence,* which they afterwards circulated, with comments sufficiently scurrilous.

Sir John Cope, Commander-in-chief during these alarms, was one of those ordinary men who are fitter for any thing than the chief command in war, especially when opposed, as he was, to a new and uncommon enemy; and, like every man of that character, extremely solicitous that nothing might be laid to his charge, he resolved to propose the most vigorous measures. Accordingly, in his letters to the Secretary of State, (dated the 9th and 10th of August,) he proposed to march his troops into the Highlands, to seek out the rebels, and try to check their progress. The Marquis of Tweedale, in his answer to these letters, tells Sir John Cope, that the Lords of the Regency entirely approve of his conduct, and are particularly pleased with his resolution of marching into the Highlands, with as many troops as he could assemble: that

* For instance, that 3000 French were landed at the Goose Dub, a puddle near the meadow at Edinburgh.

their Lordships were of opinion, that as soon as he should receive intelligence where any number of the disaffected were in arms, he should immediately attack them. And, indeed, their Lordships were so much pleased with this vigorous resolution of marching into the Highlands, that when they understood the march had been delayed only for a day or two, they sent down an express with positive orders to Sir John Cope to march forthwith, and execute the plan laid down in his letter of the 10th, notwithstanding any report of the landing of troops, and notwithstanding any actual disembarkation of troops. The King's army in Scotland, to whose commander these peremptory orders came, consisted of three battalions and a half of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, both horse and foot, (one old corps excepted)* the youngest regiments of the British army. Besides these forces, there were in Scotland nine additional companies that had been lately raised there, for the national regi-

* The old regiment was Guise's, No. 6, raised in the year 1673, which was dispersed among the forts and barracks in the north. The three young regiments were, Lee's, the 44th, of which five companies were in Berwick, and five in Scotland, Murray's, the 46th, and Lascelles's, the 47th, all of them raised in the year 1741. The two regiments of dragoons were Gardner's and Hamilton's, the 13th and 14th, both raised in the year 1715, but had never seen any service.

ments serving abroad: there were also several companies almost complete, of Lord Loudon's Highland regiment, for which the levies were carrying on all over the North. Of the nine additional companies, two had fallen into the hands of the rebels, as has been mentioned; most of the other companies had been draughted, and were so weak, as not to exceed twenty-five men a company. Lord Loudon's men were scattered about in different parts of the North Country, and had not received their arms.

Sir John Cope arriving at Stirling on the 19th of August, next day began his march to the North, and proceeded by Crieff and Tay Bridge, along the Highland road towards Fort Augustus, the place which he himself had pointed out as the most advantageous post to be occupied by the King's army, being one of the forts that formed the chain. The troops, with which the General undertook this expedition, consisted altogether of infantry, for cavalry being judged unserviceable in so rough a country, where it was not easy to subsist them, one of the regiments of dragoons was left at Leith, and the other at Stirling. With twenty-five companies of foot, whose number did not exceed 1400 men, with four field-pieces, (one and a half pounders,) as many cohorns, with a great number of carts and horses, carrying provisions, baggage, and 300

stand of arms, the General * arrived at Dalnacardoch on the 25th of August. At Dalnacardoch he was informed that the rebels intended to meet him at Corryarrak, in his way to Fort Augustus. The person who brought him this intelligence was Captain Sweetnam of Guise's regiment, who, being at the barrack of Ruthven with his company, had received an order from Sir John Cope before he left Edinburgh, to go to Fort William, and take the command of three companies of Guise's regiment, which were in garrison there. In his way to the fort he was taken prisoner by the rebels on the 14th, at a place called Letter Finlay, half way between Fort Augustus and Fort William: with the rebels he remained some days; was carried to Glenfinnin, where he saw the standard erected on the 19th; and giving his parole, was dismissed on the 21st. Captain Sweetnam told the General, that when he left the rebels, their number did not exceed 1400 men: that upon the road he met several parties going towards them, and had heard at Dalwhinnie that they were 3000 strong.

* When Sir John Cope left Stirling, he carried with him 1000 stand of spare arms, expecting to be joined in his march by a number of well-affected Highlanders, but when he came to Crieff, nobody having joined him, he sent back 700 stand of arms to Stirling.

From Dalnacardoch, Sir John Cope with his army advanced to Dalwhinnie, where he arrived on the 26th, and received a letter by express from the President of the Court of Session, confirming Captain Sweetnam's account of the intention of the rebels to meet him upon Corryarrak, and give him battle.

Corryarrak is an immense mountain, that lies directly in the way from Stirling to Fort Augustus, and occupies no less than nine miles of eighteen, that make the whole of the last day's march, from Garvamore to Fort Augustus. Sir John Cope and his army at Dalwhinnie were thirteen miles from Garvamore, and twenty-two miles from the beginning of the ascent to Corryarrak, which on the south side is extremely steep, and, when seen from a distance, seems to rise almost perpendicular like a wall. The military road is carried up to the summit of this mountain by seventeen traverses: the long descent to the level ground on the north side, (where Fort Augustus stands,) is carried on by traverses, somewhat like those on the south side, and passes through several glens and valleys with brooks and gullies, over which bridges are thrown to facilitate the way. Of these dangerous places General Cope was warned, and advised by the President to beware.

At Dalwhinnie, surrounded with hills, from which Corryarrak may be seen, a Council of War was called, to which the General summoned every

field-officer, and every commander of a separate corps, in his little army. He laid before them the Secretary of State's positive orders, and the different accounts he had received of the number and intention of the rebels. The Council of War having considered the matter, were unanimously of opinion, that the march to Fort Augustus, by Corryarrak, was impracticable; and being asked by the General what was most proper to be done, gave it as their opinion, that it was more expedient, and more agreeable to the Secretary of State's orders, to march to Inverness, (the only part of the chain which the General and his army could reach,) than to remain where they were, or to return to Stirling. When the Council of War came to this resolution at Dalwhinnie, the rebel army was at Aberchlader, on the north side of Corryarrak. The distance between Glenfinnin and Corryarrak is about forty miles: the Highlanders, informed of Sir John Cope's preparations by their friends in the south, and of his motions, (whenever he began to move,) by deserters* from his army, left Glenfinnin on the 21st of August, and ordered their marches

* Besides the two additional companies of the 42d regiment who were with Sir John Cope when he marched from Stirling, 40 men of Lord Loudon's regiment had joined him at Tay Bridge, many of whom, as well as the men of the 42d, belonged to the clans in the rebel army; and some of them, in Sir John Cope's march to the north, deserted every night with their arms.

and halts so as to be joined in their way to Corryarrak by those clans, on whose immediate assistance they depended. Accordingly the Macdonalds of Clanronald, who were about 300 men, came up with them at the head of Lochiel (which is about five miles from Glenfinnin,) accompanied by 250 Camerons, who had been sent from Glenfinnin to Castle Tyrim, in Clanronald's country, to bring up 500 firelocks and some French broad-swords, which had been landed from the Doutelle, and deposited there.

The Stuarts of Appin, who were about 280, joined them at Low Bridge; and the Macdonalds of Glengary, who, with the Grants of Glenmoriston, are said to have been 400 men, joined them in the evening of the 26th, at Aberchaloder, near the foot of Corryarrak. Next morning, before break of day, the Highlanders began to ascend Corryarrak; and marching to the summit of the mountain, halted there, and waited the approach of the King's army.

Sir John Cope, acquiescing in the opinion of the Council of War, (which was delivered to him in writing, signed by all the members,) marched his army on the 27th towards Garvamore; but when the van reached Blarigg Beg,* and the rear was

* Blarigg Beg is seven miles and a half from Dalwhinnie, and five miles and a half from Garvamore. Two rowan trees (mountain ash) mark the place where Sir John Cope's army faced about, and avoided an action with the rebels.

at Catlaig, where the road to Inverness turns off from the military road to Fort Augustus, the troops were ordered to halt, to face about, and take the road to Inverness by Ruthven. No sooner did the troops turn their backs to the enemy, than a common soldier (whose name was Cameron) deserted, and carried the news to his friends upon the hill. The Highlanders immediately put themselves in motion, and marched down the traverses with the hasty steps of men who gave chace. When they came to Garvamore, various proposals were made for improving their advantage, by pursuing the enemy, or getting between them and Inverness, by cutting across the country; but none of these proposals were accepted. The counsellors of Charles agreed to march to the southward, and fall down into the Low Country, hoping to get possession of Edinburgh, before the General and his army returned from the North. In this manner did Sir John Cope execute his plan of marching into the Highlands; and thus did he obey the positive orders of the Secretary of State, to seek out the rebels wheresoever they were, and attack them immediately. The reason given by Sir John Cope for proposing to march into the Highlands, was, that he expected to be joined in his march by a number of well-affected Highlanders; but was disappointed; for no Highlanders joined him in his march to Inverness. The reason given for declining

the battle offered him at Corryarrak was, that the rebels had assembled a great number of men in a much shorter time than he expected.

These expectations and disappointments seemed good reasons, and satisfied the Board of General Officers appointed to examine into his conduct;* but the Jacobites, some of whom are still alive, give a very different account of the matter, which agrees much better with what really happened. The Pretender's friends at Edinburgh, informed of the difficulties under which Charles laboured for want of money, were very apprehensive, that he would not be able to keep the Highlanders together, if Sir John Cope remained at Stirling with his army, and confined the rebels to the north; but they were persuaded, that if he marched his army into the Highlands, Charles, with his Highlanders, might find an opportunity of fighting him with advantage, or might give him the slip, and fall down into the Low Country. To effectuate

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* Sir John Cope was not tried by a court-martial, but a Board of General Officers was appointed to examine into his proceedings. This Board asked him what questions they thought proper; and examined a number of witnesses, who had not only marched with him to Inverness, but had been at the battle of Preston; and, upon the whole, the general officers were of opinion that Sir John Cope's behaviour was unblameable.—*Report*, p. 104.

this change of circumstances they had recourse to a piece of address.

Sir John Cope, they knew, had no opinions of his own, and was very ready to borrow those of other people; so they contrived that he should be told by some of the talking people who had access to him, that nothing was so favourable to the Pretender as the inactivity of the Commander-in-chief, who kept his troops at Stirling, and allowed the Highlanders to assemble without molestation; whereas, if he should march his army into the Highlands, the rebels would be obliged to disperse; for they were not in a condition to give him battle. This sort of language, held often in Sir John Cope's presence, made such an impression upon him, that he sent an express to London, with the proposal of marching into the Highlands, which the Lord Justices highly approved, and ordered him to march in terms more positive than the General desired.

This account of the matter, from its nature, could not be brought as evidence at the trial of General Cope, cannot be now authenticated, and is produced by the writer of this relation as an anecdote he believes to be true. When Sir John Cope left the direct road to Fort Augustus, he proceeded by forced marches to Inverness, where he arrived on the 29th of August. At Inverness he found the President, who, having communica-

ted to him at Edinburgh on the 9th of August, the intelligence he had received that the Pretender's son was landed in the Highlands, set out for the north that very day, and on the 13th arrived at his house of Culloden. A day or two after the President came home, he received a letter from Sir Alexander Macdonald in the Isle of Skye, dated Talisker, August 11th, acquainting him that Macleod of Macleod and he had refused to join Charles.

The President, in his answer to Sir Alexander* Macdonald, (which he says is the same thing as if he had wrote both to Macleod and him,) expresses the greatest satisfaction with his conduct, and informs him that Lord Lovat had been at Culloden; and when he heard that Macleod and he had refused to join Charles, declared his full purpose to be prudent, and follow their example. The President had good reason to be satisfied with the conduct of Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod, for they were two of the most powerful chiefs in the Highlands, whose ancestors had uniformly adhered to the interest of the family of Stuart; and their refusal to join Charles was likely to have the same effect upon many other people which it had upon Lord Lovat; and it had the same effect, for

* The President's answer to Sir Alexander Macdonald's letter has been preserved. *Appendix*, No. 21.

none of the persons with whom the President corresponded, joined Charles * till after the battle of Preston.

Sir John Cope, consulting with the President, applied to those chiefs in the neighbourhood who were thought most likely to procure for him a reinforcement of Highlanders, that he might march his army back to Stirling by land; but his applications proved ineffectual, and he was obliged soon after to take another course.

Meanwhile, that is from the 26th to the 31st of August, the people of Edinburgh knew nothing about the movements of the two armies; and many different reports prevailed. But on the evening of Saturday the 31st, an express from Perthshire came to town, with an account that the King's army had taken the road to Inverness; that the Highlanders were advancing to the southward; and that the van of their army had got as far as Blair of Athol. Greatly were the friends of government astonished, when they heard the King's army was gone to Inverness, and that the rebels were coming to Edinburgh. Till that change of position took place (which has been compared to a figure

* Amongst those persons with whom the President corresponded were the Earls of Sutherland and Cromarty, Lord Fortrose, Lord Reay, Lord Lovat, Sir Alexander Macdonald, Sir James Grant, Macleod, Mackintosh, and Chisholm.

in a country dance,) the insurrection of the Highlanders was looked upon as a sort of riot, which would easily be quelled by the King's troops, who were thought to be the only men in the kingdom that knew how to fight; but when this army of regular troops, that had marched so far to seek out the enemy, and give them battle, declined the combat, and left the rebels a free passage to the capital, then the affair began to be deemed somewhat serious, which certainly it had never been before.

Previously, however, to the arrival of the bad news from the north, there had been a meeting of the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, with some of the most considerable citizens, to consult and advise what was fit to be done, when the King's army was so far off, and the city so indifferently provided to defend itself.

Edinburgh had never been fortified; the castle, and a wall of unequal height, from ten or twelve, to eighteen or twenty feet high, shut in the city on three sides, and excluded the smugglers. On the north side there was no wall: the lake called the North Loch came up to the foot of the rock on which the castle stands, and was the only defence on that side of the city. The town wall in some places was strengthened with bastions, and provided with embrazures, but there were no cannon mounted upon it; and for a considerable part of the circuit it was no better than a garden wall, or

park wall of unusual height. In several places it had been built upon, so that dwelling-houses made part of the wall, and some of these houses were commanded by higher houses, opposite to them, and without the city: of such houses there was one continued row from the Cowgate Port to the Nether-Bow Port.* Such was the condition of the walls of the city of Edinburgh; and the condition of the men who might be called upon to defend them, was pretty similar to that of the walls.†

The Magistrates still retained the name and form of their ancient militia, called the Trained Bands, ‡ which consisted of sixteen companies, from

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* The Scots call the gate of a town a Port.

† The walls of Edinburgh were begun to be built in the reign of James the Second, but were not completed so as to inclose the town in the manner described till the battle of Floudon, where James the Fourth fell with the flower of the nobility and gentry of Scotland.

‡ The Trained Bands of Edinburgh had been in former times a considerable body of men; they consisted of eight companies, each company 200 men or more, according to the number of people in that quarter of the town to which the company belonged.

The tallest men were armed with pikes, and provided with defensive armour; the men of lower stature were armed with firelocks, and had also defensive armour. The captain of each company was appointed to lead out his men one day in every week, to instruct them in the order of war, and the exercise of arms. MAITLAND's *History of Edinburgh*, page 285.

sixty to one hundred men in a company. The men were enrolled, and the officers appointed from the burghers of the town, (merchants and craftsmen,) according to use and wont; but the Trained Bands had not appeared in arms since the Revolution, except on the King's birth-day, when they were furnished with arms for that day's service from a magazine which belonged to the city, and contained about 1200 stand of arms, most of them without bayonets. Besides the Trained Bands, there was a company of foot, called the Town Guard, (armed with muskets and bayonets,) kept up at the expence of the town, and under the orders of the Provost of Edinburgh.

Such was the condition of the walls, and the state of arms at Edinburgh on the 27th of August, when the meeting was held to consult and advise what was to be done. The meeting resolved to put the city in a proper state of defence, by repairing the walls, and raising a regiment of 1000 men, to be paid by a voluntary contribution of the inhabitants. The meeting also recommended to the Provost and Magistrates to name a standing committee of the Town Council, with the addition of some other citizens, to consult the Justice Clerk, the crown lawyers, and such of the judges as were in town, what other steps the community might legally take to frustrate the designs of his Majesty's enemies. The committee was named, and met

with the judges and lawyers, who informed them that it was necessary to apply for his Majesty's warrant to raise a regiment;* and such an application was immediately prepared and forwarded to London by the King's Advocate. So far the committee had proceeded, and were waiting an answer from London to their application, when the news arrived that the King's army was gone to Inverness, and that the rebels were advancing towards Edinburgh. A few days after the arrival of this piece of news, Captain Rogers, Sir John Cope's aid-de-camp, came to town from Inverness, with an order to General Guest to take up a number of transports at Leith, and send them to Aberdeen. Captain Rogers also brought letters from Sir John Cope to his Majesty's civil servants at Edinburgh, acquainting them, that he intended to march his troops by land to Aberdeen, embark them there, and hasten to the relief of the city. This information was very welcome to the friends of government at Edinburgh, for notice had come to town the very day Captain Rogers arrived, which was the 4th of

* A statute of the first Parliament of Charles the Second declares, that the power of raising in arms the subjects of this kingdom, is the exclusive right of the King alone; and also declares, that it shall be high treason for the subjects of this kingdom, or any number of them, less or more, upon any ground or pretext whatsoever, to rise in arms.

September, that on the 3d, a detachment of the rebel army had taken possession of Perth, which, by either of the ferries, is but forty miles from Edinburgh. On Friday, the 6th of September, a petition to the Town-Council, signed by about 100 citizens, was presented to Provost Stuart, praying that they might be authorized to associate as volunteers for the defence of the city: that they might be allowed to name their own officers; and that the Provost would apply to General Guest to furnish them with arms from the King's magazine in the castle of Edinburgh.

Provost Stuart ordered a council * to be summoned to meet on Saturday the 7th. Meanwhile

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* The government of the city of Edinburgh is lodged in the Town Council ordinary and extraordinary. The Provost presides in both councils, but has only one vote, and the casting vote in case of equality. He has also a power of summoning a council to be called when he thinks proper. The ordinary council, which meets every Wednesday, consists of twenty-five members, merchants and craftsmen. The extraordinary council, consisting of the ordinary council and a good many more, meets only on certain days and occasions. On the day of the election of the provost and magistrates, which is always the first Tuesday after Michaelmas, the extraordinary council consists of thirty-eight persons.

See a pamphlet called The Set of the Town Council of Edinburgh, with a decreet-arbitral by James the Sixth, and a second decreet-arbitral by Archibald Earl of Ilay, afterwards Duke of Argyll.

he consulted the King's Advocate and the Solicitor, whether or not it was lawful for the council to grant the desire of the petition. These gentlemen gave their opinion in the most positive terms, that it was lawful for the Town Council of Edinburgh to authorize the inhabitants to take arms for the defence of the city.* Upon which Provost Stuart laid the petition before the council, who immediately granted the prayer of the petitioners in every article but that of naming their own officers, which was reserved to the Provost, as the right and privilege of his office.

After the account which has been given of the walls, and the Trained Bands of Edinburgh, it may appear somewhat extraordinary, that a few of the inhabitants of such a place should petition for leave to take arms, and defend their walls against a body of men from which the King's army had retreated with precipitation. At this part of the story it seems necessary to observe, that at the Michaelmas election of the magistrates and Town Council, in the year 1740, Mr Stuart and his friends had got pos-

* The lawyers who gave this opinion were the same persons who had informed the committee that it was necessary to apply for his Majesty's warrant to raise a regiment. The difference between raising a regiment of men and a body of volunteers, is not very obvious; and, by the words of the statute, his Majesty's warrant seems alike necessary for both.

session of the government of the city of Edinburgh, and from the time of that election they had governed without opposition; but the annual election of the council and magistrates was at hand. A great majority of the electors were Whigs, extremely zealous for the established government, and the defence of the city against the rebels. Nor is it less necessary to observe, that amongst those burgesses who framed and presented the petition for leave to take arms, were a good many old magistrates, provosts, baillies, and other office-bearers, whose place in the council, with their power in the city, Provost Stuart and his friends possessed.

CHAPTER IV.

Preparations to defend the City.—Transports sent for General Cope's Army.—Notice that the Rebels had left Perth.—Their march.—Conduct of the Volunteers.—The Highlanders advance towards Edinburgh.—Retreat of the Dragoons.—Consternation in the City.—Meeting of the Magistrates and Citizens.—Proceedings of the Meeting.—Deputation sent to Charles.—Notice that the Transports are off Dunbar.—Return of the Deputies.—Another Deputation sent out.—The Deputies ordered to be gone.—The Rebels get possession of the City.

THE petition having been granted on Saturday, the 7th of September, a subscription * paper was lodged in the Old Church aisle on Monday, the

* On the day the subscription paper was lodged, the author of this History came to Edinburgh, and, meeting some of his companions in the street, they shewed him one of the hand-bills, told him they had subscribed the association to take arms, and expected he would do the same, which he did; and when the companies were formed, served with his friends in the College Company; was an eye-witness of every thing that passed during the few days the volunteers were in arms; and must acknowledge that he changed his mind more than once concerning the cause of those things that happened in his sight.

9th, and all good subjects were invited by handbills to subscribe. The same day Provost Stuart produced in council a warrant from his Majesty to the Town Council and Magistrates of Edinburgh, to raise a regiment of 1000 men, for the defence of the city. The Council appointed Provost Stuart colonel, both of the regiment to be raised, and of the volunteers. Beating orders were issued, and the levy was begun immediately. The number of subscribers to the association increased so fast, that the same day the subscription paper was lodged, a letter was sent to the Provost, signed by six old magistrates, (three of whom had been Provosts, and three of them Baillies,) praying his lordship to apply to General Guest for 200 stand of arms to the volunteers.

On the 10th the annual election began,* and the companies or incorporations of tradesmen were so much employed about the election of their deacons, (which is one of the first steps of the Michaelmas elections,) that very few tradesmen could be got to work upon the walls, and the orders given

* The elections of Edinburgh are called so very properly, for they consist of many separate elections, carried on by a number of steps, which, in the year 1745, began to be taken on the 10th of September, and never came to an end.

for strengthening the defences of the town, according to a plan prepared by Mr M'Laurin, were but ill obeyed. The same day a fleet of transports, escorted by a ship of war, sailed from Leith to Aberdeen, to bring back General Cope and his army. From the time that the ships sailed, the people of Edinburgh were continually looking up to the vanes and the weather-cocks, to see from what point the wind blew, and computing how soon they might expect the General and his army. On the day that the transports sailed, Provost Stuart desired the volunteers to prepare a list of twenty or thirty of their own number, whom they thought proper persons to command the companies, and that he would name the captains out of that list. The list was prepared immediately, and carried to the Provost by a deputation from the volunteers, who, when they presented it, desired that all of them might be furnished with arms as soon as possible. On the 11th, Provost Stuart named six captains,* and allowed each captain to appoint two lieutenants for his own company.

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* The first captain named was George Drummond, formerly Provost of Edinburgh.

2d, Captain Archibald Macaulay, formerly Provost of Edinburgh.

3d, Captain Sir George Preston, Baronet.

The same day cannon, to be mounted on the walls, were brought up from Leith, where, in time of war, there are always armed vessels.

On the 12th the volunteers assembled in the College-yards, and were distributed into six companies: the private men choosing what captain they pleased to serve under.

That evening two hundred stand of arms were brought down from the castle; a musket, bayonet, and cartridge-box, were delivered to each volunteer that attended. The volunteers began immediately to toss their firelocks, and take a lesson from some serjeants and corporals (old soldiers) who had been procured to teach them the manual exercise.

Next day the volunteers were employed, morning and evening, in learning the most necessary parts of the exercise of arms.

On the 14th they were employed in the same manner; and they had no time to lose, for before they received their arms the rebels had left Perth; and notice came to town on the 14th, that the Highland army, in the evening of the 13th, had

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4th, Captain James Nimmo, formerly Dean of Guild.

5th, Captain Alexander Blackwood, formerly a Baillie of Edinburgh.

6th, Captain James Kerr, one of the Town Council, afterwards Member of Parliament for Edinburgh. Most of these gentlemen had signed the petition for leave to take up arms.

crossed the river Forth, at the Ford of the Frew,* and, marching on to the southward, till they passed the house of Boquhan, turned to the eastward, and took the straight road to Edinburgh.

This piece of intelligence came to town before the companies were dismissed from their exercise in the evening of the 14th; and an order was given, that the serjeants and corporals should make into cartridges the powder and ball obtained from the castle, that ammunition might be ready to be delivered to the volunteers, who were ordered (all of them that had arms,†) to assemble in the College-yards next day, at nine o'clock in the morning. When this order was given, nobody knew how far the rebels had advanced on their way to Edinburgh. To them it is now time to return.

A detachment of the rebel army having entered the town of Perth on the 3d of September, as has been formerly mentioned, Charles, with the rest of his troops, joined them on the 4th, and remained there till the 11th. During his stay at Perth (the length of which is said to have been owing to

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* The Ford of the Frew is about eight miles to the west of Stirling.

† Four hundred stand of arms had come down from the castle. The number of those who had signed the association was 418.

want of money,)* he sent parties to the neighbouring counties of Angus and Fife, who proclaimed the Pretender king in the most considerable towns, enlisted a few men, and levied the public money.† At Perth James Drummond (commonly called Duke of Perth) and Lord George Murray joined the standard, and were appointed lieutenant-generals of the Highland army. The Duke of Perth was grandson to the Earl of Perth, (Chancellor of Scotland in the reign of James the Second,) who, adhering to the interests of James after the Revolution, followed him to France, and was created Duke of Perth. His grandson coming to Scotland some years before the Rebellion, was known there by no other name. Lord George Murray was next

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* Charles, when he came to Perth, had but one guinea, which he shewed to Kelly, one of the seven that landed with him in the Highlands, and said he would soon get more. Maxwell of Kirconnel, in his manuscript, says Kelly told him so.

† In the march from Glenfinnin to Perth, Charles gave the chiefs what money they thought was necessary to subsist their men. During their abode at Perth, besides the public money which they levied, it is said that several persons, who afterwards joined them at Edinburgh, came to Perth to visit Charles, and furnished him with some money, which made his purse hold out till the rebel army took possession of Edinburgh; and after their arrival there they had regular pay.

brother to James, Duke of Athol, who, by the death of one elder brother,* and the attainder of another, became Duke of Athol. Lord George Murray had been engaged in the Rebellion that broke out in the year 1715, and, with some Highlanders, had joined the Spaniards who were defeated at Glenshiel in the year 1719. After the action at Glenshiel, he went abroad, and was several years an officer in the king of Sardinia's army. Having obtained a pardon by the interest of his friends at home, he returned to Britain, and was presented to the King by his brother, the Duke of Athol. It is said that he offered his service to Government, and solicited a commission in the army, but his offer was not accepted. While the rebel army lay at Perth, Robertson of Struan joined them, with one hundred men; and the Duke of Perth brought in above two hundred men, whom he had raised in the adjacent country.

On the 11th of September Charles left Perth at the head of a detachment of his army, and march-

* John, Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of John, Duke of Athol, was killed at the battle of Malplaquet. William, Marquis of Tullibardine, succeeded him; and, having joined the rebel army in the year 1715, was attainted the following year.

ed that day to Dumblane,* where he halted till the rest of his men came up, which they did in the evening of the 12th. On the 13th they moved again, directing their march towards the fords of the river Forth, for they could not cross the Frith where several of the King's ships were stationed, nor was it safe to pass at the bridge of Stirling, which is commanded by the cannon of the castle. When they came to the Ford of the Frew, they found no difficulty in crossing the river, for there had been an extraordinary drought, nor did they meet with any opposition from Colonel Gardner, who, with his regiment of dragoons, retired at their approach, still keeping between them and the city of Edinburgh.

The rebel army having crossed the Forth on the evening of the 13th, Charles lay that night at Leckie House, on the south side of the river. Next morning the army moved to the eastward, directing their march towards Edinburgh. As they passed within a mile of the castle of Stirling, one or two cannon shot were fired at the standard, or, as it is said, at Charles, conspicuous by the

* In their march from Perth to Dumblane, Macdonald of Glencoe came up with 60 men; the same number of his men had joined them in their march to Perth: and at a place called Conagan, not far from Dumblane, Macgregor of Glengyle came up with 255 Macgregors.

crowd that attended him, but none of the shot took place.

Charles, with his army, proceeded to Falkirk; his men were quartered in the town; and he himself passed the night at Callender, the seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock. On Sunday the 15th, a detachment of 1000 Highlanders marched about two o'clock in the morning, under the command of Lord George Murray, with a design to surprise Colonel Gardner's regiment of dragoons at Linlithgow, which is but eight miles from Falkirk. The Highlanders reached Linlithgow before break of day, but the dragoons were gone, having decamped the evening before. Lord George Murray, with his detachment, halted at Linlithgow till Charles with the rest of his men came up. Then the whole army took the road to Edinburgh, which is only sixteen miles from Linlithgow. A messenger was dispatched to Edinburgh to give notice of the approach of the rebels, who, concluding that the Highlanders were at his heels, reported that the van of the rebels had got as far as Kirkliston, a village eight miles from Edinburgh.

When this report came to town, all the volunteers who had arms were assembled in the College-yards, according to an order given the night before. Their number amounted to 400. About ten o'clock Captain Drummond came to the College-yards: he was captain of the first company of vo-

lunteers, called the College Company, in which there were about twenty students of the University, and other young people; some of them farther advanced in their different professions, class-fellows, companions, and friends, who had agreed to join the same company, and serve together. Captain Drummond, after talking for some time with his brother officers, in the garde hall, came out to the volunteers, and walking along the front of his company, without speaking one word, placed himself directly opposite to the right (where he saw some of his most forward volunteers,) then addressing himself to the company, he informed them of the approach of the rebels, and acquainted them that it had been proposed to General Guest to make a stand with the two regiments of dragoons, and fight the rebels in their way to the city: that the General objected to the measure, as there was not a body of foot to act with the dragoons, and draw off the enemy's fire: that he (Mr Drummond) had asked if 250 volunteers would be sufficient, as he could answer for so many, if Provost Stuart would allow fifty of the town guard to go along with them: that the General answered, in his opinion, the number would be sufficient. Now, gentlemen, (said Mr Drummond,) you have heard the General's opinion, judge for yourselves: if you are willing to risk your lives for the defence of the

Capital of Scotland, and the honour of your country, I am ready to lead you to the field.

That instant the volunteers, upon whom he had fixed his eyes while he spoke, threw up their hats in the air, and began a huzza,* in which the company joined, and embraced the proposal.

Captain Drummond then went from company to company, and told them, that though his gentlemen were going out one and all, to conquer or die with him, yet such a resolution was not proper for every person who had taken arms to defend the

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* Several of those volunteers, who began the huzza, were not inhabitants of Edinburgh, and knew nothing about the elections or the cabals in the city; nor had they any sort of deference to the opinion of General Guest or Captain Drummond; but some of their own number having carefully surveyed the walls on Saturday the 14th, reported to a meeting of their companions in the evening, that the walls they had undertaken to defend, were not at all in good condition. This report made them consider, and forecast, as well as they could, what was likely to happen in such a place as Edinburgh, when attempted by storm; so that when Captain Drummond made his speech to the company, they stood prepared by their own reflections, to accept the proposal of marching out with the dragoons, as the best thing they could possibly do: hoping, and encouraging one another to hope, that the two regiments of dragoons (whose prowess nobody doubted,) with what assistance they could give, might break the force of the rebel army; and leave to the Highlanders, if victorious, a bloody and fatal victory.

city: that it was most suitable to young men not connected with families, and at liberty to dispose of their own lives. Most of the volunteers in every company, (Captain Drummond's company excepted,) had no mind to march out of town, and some of them murmured at the proposal; but the voice of Captain Drummond's company was loudest, and seemed to prevail. A messenger was dispatched to acquaint General Guest that the volunteers were ready to march out with the dragoons, and engage the rebels. General Guest sent a gentleman to desire Provost Stuart that he would give orders for 50 men of the town guard to join the volunteers. Provost Stuart, who had not heard a word of the matter till he received the General's message, was extremely surprised; but recollecting himself, and listening to an admonition given him by Baillie Robert Baillie, who said that he thought 50 of the town guard could not be better employed than in supporting the volunteers, the Provost ordered 90 men of the town guard, and as many of the men of the Edinburgh regiment as were fit for service, to march and join the dragoons. General Guest, as soon as he was informed what orders the Provost had given, sent an order to Hamilton's dragoons, who were encamped in the Links of Leith, to march through the city, and join the other regiment at Corstorphine, a village about three miles from Edinburgh.

The volunteers loaded their pieces for the first time; the fire-bell * was rung, as a signal for them to repair to the Lawn Market, which they did in a body. The fire-bell ringing in the time of divine service, emptied the churches in an instant; and the people rushing into the streets, were told that the volunteers, whom they saw under arms, were going out with the dragoons to fight the rebel army. As soon as the dragoons appeared, the volunteers huzzaed; and the dragoons, clashing their swords against one another as they marched on, returned the huzza. A universal consternation seized the minds of the people of every rank, age, sex, and party. The relations of the volunteers crowded about them, and mixed with their ranks. The men reasoned, and endeavoured to dissuade their friends; the women expostulated, complained, and, weeping, embraced their sons and brothers. But neither the arguments of the men, nor the tears of the women, had any effect upon those volunteers who had agreed to Mr Drummond's proposal. No sooner had the dragoons passed, than Captain Drummond, putting himself at the head of his company, marched them up the High Street, and

* On Saturday the 14th it had been given out in orders, that all the volunteers should repair to the Lawn Market, with their arms, when they heard the fire-bell ring, by day or night.

down the Bow, to the Grass Market, attended by a prodigious crowd of people, lamenting the fate of the volunteers. When Captain Drummond and his company came near the West Port, they found themselves alone; for neither officer nor private man of any other company had followed them. A halt was ordered, and an officer sent back to learn what had prevented the march of their associates. The officer sent back was Lieutenant Lindsey, who had proposed to Captain Drummond in the College-yards, to separate those that were willing to march out with the dragoons, from those that were not willing. Mr Drummond did not agree to this, saying, it could not be done there, for the fire-bell would ring immediately, and call them to their post. The fire-bell was rung; and the volunteers marched in a body to the Lawn Market, where they halted, and waited some time for the dragoons, as has been mentioned. During this halt the separation was made in Captain Drummond's company by Lieutenant Lindsey; but when he came back to the Lawn Market, and inquired what had prevented the march of the other companies, he found the volunteers in great confusion. The separation had not been made in any of the companies but Captain Drummond's; several of the officers told Lieutenant Lindsey that they were willing to march out and join the dragoons, but that very few of their men would consent to follow

them. Many of the private men complained that they had not one officer to lead them. Lieutenant Lindsey, with the assistance of Sir George Preston, and some other officers, collected all those who were willing to march out of town, and conducted them to the Grass Market, where they joined* Captain Drummond's company.

Soon after this junction was made, Dr Wishart, principal of the University of Edinburgh, with his brother, George Wishart, (who was so well beloved,) and several other clergymen, came to the Grass Market, and addressed the volunteers with great earnestness, conjured them by whatever they held most sacred, to stay within the walls, and reserve themselves for the defence of the city. Principal Wishart, who was the chief speaker, standing in the front of Captain Drummond's company, addressed himself to them in particular. More than one of them replied like young men, and rejected his counsel with disdain. When the Principal and his friends went away, Captain Drummond, after

* Forty-two private men of Captain Drummond's company marched with him to the Grass Market. The volunteers Lieutenant Lindsey brought down from the Lawn Market were 141; so that the whole number of volunteers amounted to 183, who, with the men of the town guard, and the Edinburgh regiment, amounting to 180, formed a body of 563 foot, besides officers.

talking with his officers, sent a message * to Provost Stuart, by Lieutenant Ormiston (of Sir George Preston's company,) to acquaint him, that unless he agreed to their marching out of town, the volunteers were determined not to proceed, and that they waited his answer. Lieutenant Ormiston returned with an answer from the Provost, that, as he was very much against the proposal of marching the volunteers out of town, he was very glad of their resolution not to march out of town. Captain Drummond having received this answer, put himself at the head of his company, and marched the volunteers back to the College-yards. When Provost Stuart heard that Captain Drummond had marched the volunteers back to the College-yards, he sent an order to the town guard, and the men of the Edinburgh regiment, to join the dragoons and obey Colonel Gardner.

The volunteers being dismissed from the College-yards to take some refreshment, about 20 private men of Captain Drummond's company (who first of all had agreed to their Captain's proposal of joining the dragoons,) went to a tavern together,

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* The message which Lieutenant Ormiston carried from Captain Drummond to Provost Stuart, was known to none of the volunteers, officers excepted, till it appeared in a journal kept by Lieutenant Lindsey, of what happened at Edinburgh from the 5th of August to the 16th of September.

where they unbosomed themselves, and resolved, that if the town was not to be defended, which, from what they had seen of Captain Drummond's management that day, and what they had often heard of Provost Stuart's inclinations, they thought was very likely to happen, in that case they would separate from the other volunteers, and march to the eastward, with their arms. In this resolution the company was unanimous; and Professor Cleghorn, one of the most zealous volunteers, undertook to stand forth at the proper time (if such a time should come,) and call upon his friends * to execute this resolution.

During these alarms at Edinburgh, the rebels were lying very quietly upon the banks of a rivulet about a mile to the eastward of Linlithgow. There they remained till the evening, and, marching on

* Most of his friends were very young men; and when Captain Drummond harangued his company in the College-yards, they had not the smallest doubt that he was in earnest; but some of their relations, who were a little older than they, came to them when they halted in the Lawn Market to wait for the dragoons, and said, they knew Mr Drummond perfectly well, and could assure them that he did not intend to fight the rebel army, but that his real intention was to make himself popular at the eve of an election, by shewing extraordinary zeal for the defence of the city. Of this circumstance the author of the History is very certain; for he was talked to in this manner by his elder brother, whom at that time he did not believe.

a few miles, took post for the night upon a rising ground near the 12th mile-stone from Edinburgh.*

The night between the 15th and 16th of September passed without disturbance. Six or seven hundred men, consisting of the Trained Bands, the Edinburgh volunteers, and some volunteers who came in from the towns of Musselburgh and Dalkeith, were upon guard at the different gates of the city.

On Monday the 16th the rebels advanced slowly towards Edinburgh, giving time for the terror of their approach to operate upon the minds of unwarlike citizens, in a divided city. Between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a message † was delivered from the young Pretender to the people of Edinburgh, acquainting them, that if they would admit him peaceably into the city they should be

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* There were no mile-stones nor turnpike roads in Scotland, till a good many years after the Rebellion; but the twelfth mile-stone stands very near where the Highland army passed the night.

† This message was delivered first to the Provost, and then to the people, at the Cross of Edinburgh, as a piece of news, by one Mr Alves, who said that he had passed the Highland army on the road, and that the Duke of Perth (whom he knew) had charged him with the message, after having asked a young man, whom he called the Prince, if it was his pleasure; to which he seemed to assent.

civilly dealt with, if not, they must lay their account with military execution.

This threat was the more terrible, that it was not perfectly understood, and conveyed a confused idea of every thing that could happen in a town taken by storm. The effect of it soon appeared; for, about mid-day, a petition, signed by forty-eight citizens, was presented to Provost Stuart, praying that he would call a meeting of the inhabitants, and consult with them what was proper to be done. This petition Provost Stuart refused to grant; but an incident happened very soon which enforced the petition: that incident was the precipitate retreat of the dragoons.

Colonel Gardner, with his two regiments of dragoons, the town guard, and the men of the Edinburgh regiment, had remained at Corstorphine on the 15th till the evening. At sun-set the Colonel, leaving a party of dragoons near Corstorphine, retreated with his two regiments to a field between Leith and Edinburgh. The infantry returned to the city. That night General Foukes arrived from London; and early next morning received an order from General Guest, to take the command of the two regiments of dragoons, and march them to a field at the east end of the Colt Bridge.* In

* The Colt Bridge is about two miles from Edinburgh, on the way to Corstorphine.

the forenoon, the men of the town guard and the Edinburgh regiment joined the dragoons.

When the rebels came near Corstorphine, they saw the party of dragoons, where they had been posted by Colonel Gardner; and some young people, well mounted, were ordered to go near, take a view of the dragoons, and bring a report of their number. These young people, riding up to the dragoons, fired their pistols at them, who, without returning one shot, wheeled about, and rode off, carrying their fears into the main body. General Foukes and the two regiments of dragoons set off immediately, and between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, passed on the north side of the town by the Long Dykes, (where the New Town stands,) in full view of the people of Edinburgh.

Instantly the clamour rose, and crowds of people ran about the streets crying out, that it was madness to think of resistance, since the dragoons were fled; and some of them meeting Provost Stuart, as he returned from the West Port (where he had gone to give orders after the retreat of the dragoons,) followed him to the Parliament Square, beseeching him not to persist in defending the town, for if he did they should all be murdered. The Provost reprimanded them; and went to the Goldsmiths'-Hall, where the Magistrates and Town Council were assembled, with a good many of the inhabi-

tants. A deputation was sent to the Justice Clerk,* the Advocate, and the Solicitor, to entreat that they would come and assist the Council with their advice. The deputies returned, and reported that all these gentlemen had left the town. Provost Stuart then sent for the captains of the volunteers, and the Trained Bands, and desired to have their opinion concerning the defence of the town. The officers said very little, and seemed to be at a loss what opinion to give; other people in the meeting made speeches for and against the defence of the town, not without reproach and abuse on both sides. The crowd increased to such a degree, that it became necessary to adjourn to a larger place, and the meeting adjourned to the New Church Aisle, which was immediately filled with people, the most part of whom called to give up the town; that it was impossible to defend it. Those who attempted to speak against the general opinion, were borne down with noise and clamour.

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* Lord Milton, the Justice Clerk, had gone to his house at Brunstane in the forenoon, to put some papers out of the way; and returning to Edinburgh after dinner, met a crowd of people in the Canongate, who had rushed out at the Nether-Bow Port, when it was opened to let out the baggage of the dragoons, that it might follow them: these people called out that the rebels were entering the town at the West Port, upon which Lord Milton returned to Brunstane.

Meanwhile a letter was handed in from the door, addressed to the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Edinburgh. Deacon Orrock (a member of the Council) opened the letter, and said it was subscribed Charles, P. R. Provost Stuart stopped Deacon Orrock, said he would not be witness to reading such a letter; and, rising from his seat, left the place, and returned to the Goldsmiths' Hall, followed by most part of the Council, and a good many of the town's people, who called out to read the letter, for it was absolutely necessary, they said, to read the letter, that the inhabitants might know what threatenings it contained against the city. Others maintained that it ought not to be read; that it was treason to read it. During these debates about reading the letter, four companies of the volunteers marched up to the castle of Edinburgh, and laid down their arms, without orders from Provost Stuart, and without his knowledge. These four companies had come from the College-yards to their alarm-post in the Lawn Market, when the fire-bell was rung, after the retreat of the dragoons. The captains, leaving their lieutenants to command the companies, went to that meeting at the Goldsmiths' Hall, which was adjourned to the New Church aisle, where they remained a long time. The volunteers becoming impatient to know what was going on at the meeting of the inhabitants, two of the lieutenants went from the Lawn

Market, and asked Provost Stuart what orders he pleased to give them. The lieutenants returned without receiving any orders from the Provost; and brought very bad accounts of the disposition that seemed to prevail among the people at the meeting. One of the volunteers (not an officer) hearing what the lieutenants said, proposed to his companions, that they should go to the meeting with their arms, and give their opinion as inhabitants. Other two private men, talking together, differed so much, that they quarrelled and attacked one another. One of them made use of his musket and fixed bayonet, the other threw down his musket, and parried the bayonet with his sword. They were soon separated without any harm done. Much about the same time a man of tolerable appearance, (whom nobody ever pretended to know,) mounted upon a grey horse, came up from the Bow to the Lawn Market, and, galloping along the front of the volunteers, called out that he had seen the Highland army, that they were sixteen thousand strong. This lying messenger did not stay to be questioned, for he was out of sight in a moment. By and by Captain Drummond and the other captains came to the Lawn Market, and, having talked with their lieutenants in sight of the men, sent Lieutenant Lindsey to acquaint General Guest, that the volunteers were coming to the castle to deliver up their arms, as no good could be done by

keeping them, for the town was to be given up. When Lieutenant Lindsey returned with an answer from General Guest, that he expected them, Captain Drummond (whose company having the right, was nearest the castle) gave them orders to march. Then it was that the volunteer, who stood next to Professor Cleghorn, reminded him of the agreement they had made with their companions, and said, "Now is your time."—"No," said Mr Cleghorn, "I don't think it is; to separate from the rest of the volunteers at present, would do more ill than good." Not a word more was said; and the volunteers marched up to the castle. The sun was setting* when they laid down their arms; many of them with visible reluctance, and some of them with tears. The example of the four companies commanded by Captain Drummond, was very soon followed by the other two companies of volunteers; and by all the different bodies of men who had received arms from the King's magazine. At the time the volunteers laid down their arms, the meeting at the Goldsmiths' Hall was still debating whether or no the letter, signed Charles, P. R., should be read. Provost Stuart had given orders to send for the town assessors, to have their opinion. None

* On the 16th of September, O. S. which is the 27th, N. S. the sun sets 54 minutes after five o'clock.

of them could be found but Mr Haldane, who came immediately; and being asked by Provost Stuart, whether or not a letter addressed to the Magistrates, signed Charles, P. R., should be read, he answered, that was a matter too high for him to give his opinion upon: having said so, he rose and went away. Provost Stuart exclaimed, "Good God! I am deserted by my arms and my assessors." After this there was a pause. The Provost still demurred; but most of the company becoming impatient to know the contents of the letter, it was read at last.*

From our Camp, 16th Sept. 1745.

"Being now in a condition to make our way into the capital of his Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us, as you are in duty bound to do; and in order to it, we hereby require you, upon receipt of this, to summon the Town Council, and take proper measures for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect. But if you suffer any of the Usurper's troops to enter the town, or any of the cannon, arms, or ammunition now in it, (whether belonging to the public, or private per-

*See Henderson's Evidence. Provost Stuart's Trial, pp. 113, 114.

sons) to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of your duty, and a heinous offence against the King and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of his Majesty's subjects. But if any opposition be made to us, we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly resolved at any rate to enter the city; and in that case if any of the inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war.

"CHARLES, *P. R.*"

When the threatenings which this letter contained were heard, the cry against resistance became louder than ever; and it was proposed to send a deputation to the person from whom this letter came, to desire that hostilities might not be commenced, till the citizens had deliberated, and resolved what answer should be made to the letter. This proposal was agreed to; and about eight o'clock at night Baillie Hamilton, and three other members of the Council, were sent to Gray's Mill, where the Pretender was, to carry to him the request of the Council.

Soon after the deputies were sent out, intelligence came to the Provost and Magistrates (assembled in the Council Chamber) that the transports with General Cope's army were off Dunbar;

and as the wind was unfavourable for bringing them up the Frith, that the general intended to land his troops at Dunbar, and march them to the relief of the city.

This piece of intelligence changed the face of affairs. Messengers were sent off immediately to overtake the deputies, and prevent them from executing their commission. Application was made to General Guest for arms, and he was requested to recall the dragoons. General Guest answered, that the Magistrates might put the arms belonging to the city into the hands of such of their inhabitants as were well disposed; and if the Provost should write to him, that there was a good spirit appearing among the people, and desire him to deliver out the volunteers' arms, that he might probably do it; but that he judged it was absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service, that the two regiments of dragoons should be ordered to join General Cope. Various proposals were then made in the Council to beat to arms, to ring the alarm-bell, and re-assemble the volunteers. To these proposals it was objected, that most of the volunteers had left the town when they laid down their arms; that the messengers sent to recall the deputies, not having overtaken them, the deputies were now in the power of the rebels, who, when they heard the alarm-bell, would probably hang the deputies.

About ten o'clock at night the deputies return-

ed, and brought a letter in answer to the message sent by them.

"His Royal Highness the Prince Regent thinks his manifesto, and the King his father's declaration already published, a sufficient capitulation for all his Majesty's subjects to accept with joy. His present demands are to be received into the city as the son and representative of the King, his father, and obeyed as such when there. His Royal Highness supposes, that since the receipt of his letter to the Provost, no arms or ammunition have been suffered to be carried off or concealed, and will expect a particular account of all things of that nature. Lastly, he expects a positive answer before two o'clock in the morning, otherwise he will think himself obliged to take measures conform.

"At Gray's Mill, 16th September, 1745. By his Highness's command,

(Signed) "J. MURRAY."

When this letter was read, Provost Stuart said there was one condition in it, which he would die* rather than submit to, which was, receiving the son

* Provost Stuart's Trial, page 127.

of the Pretender as Prince Regent; for he was bound by oath to another master. After long deliberation it was determined to send out deputies once more, to beg a suspension of hostilities till nine o'clock in the morning, that the Magistrates might have an opportunity of conversing with the citizens, most of whom were gone to bed. The deputies were also instructed to require an explanation of what was meant by receiving Charles as Prince Regent.

About two o'clock in the morning the deputies set out in a hackney coach for Gray's Mill; when they arrived there they prevailed upon Lord George Murray to second their application for a delay; but Charles refused to grant it; and the deputies were ordered in his name* to get them gone.

The coach brought them back to Edinburgh, set them down in the High-Street, and then drove towards the Canongate.† When the Nether-Bow Port was opened to let out the coach, 800 Highlanders, led by Cameron of Lochiel, rushed in and took possession of the city.

It was about five o'clock in the morning when

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* Provost Stuart's Trial, p. 172.

† Most of the hackney coaches belong to people that live in the Canongate.

the rebels entered Edinburgh. They immediately sent parties to all the other gates, and to the town guard, who, making the soldiers upon duty prisoners, occupied their posts as quietly as one guard relieves another. When the inhabitants of Edinburgh awaked in the morning, they found that the Highlanders were masters of the city.

If this particular account of what happened at Edinburgh, from the 9th to the 17th of September, should seem tedious, as most likely it will, the author thought it better that the account he gives of the surrender of Edinburgh should seem tedious, than be incomplete, as it would most certainly have been, if he had omitted any of the circstances which happened on the 15th and 16th of September. For those circumstances of which he was an eye-witness, and took notes at the time, prove beyond dispute that the volunteers, who agreed to Captain Drummond's proposal of joining the dragoons, and persisted in their resolution to the last, were in earnest to defend the city. As to the intention of Captain Drummond, people differed in opinion: the generality of the inhabitants of Edinburgh were persuaded that he meant at all hazards to defend the town against the rebels. Some people, on the contrary, were of opinion that the chief object Captain Drummond had in view was to make himself popular, and defeat Provost Stuart's interest in the city. That his proposal to

the volunteers of joining the dragoons, and giving battle to the rebels, was merely a pretence of doing what he never had the most distant intention to do, as appeared by his message to Provost Stuart, which Lieutenant Ormiston carried, and the awkward manner in which he desisted from his proposal. If this latter opinion be well founded, and Mr Drummond meant nothing more than to defeat Provost Stuart's interests, the election job, as it has been called, succeeded perfectly well; for when Mr Stuart (who was Member of Parliament for the city of Edinburgh) went to London, he was taken into custody, and sent to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner fourteen months. At last being admitted to bail upon a recognizance to appear before the Court of Justiciary in Scotland, he came to Edinburgh, where he was tried for neglect of duty, and misbehaviour in the execution of his office. After one of the longest and most solemn trials* that ever was known, the jury, *nemine con-*

* When Provost Stuart's trial was published, it appeared that the company of burgesses who framed the petition to be authorized to take arms, had sent deputies to Provost Stuart on the 3d of September, with several instructions concerning the defence of the town, which Provost Stuart told them was impracticable and ridiculous to attempt. The deputies had more than one conversation with Provost Stuart before they presented their petition. When the petition was granted, se-

tradicente, found him Not Guilty. But long before the trial, there had been a poll election of Magistrates,* and Mr Drummond was chosen Provost by a great majority.

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veral of the petitioners became officers of the volunteers, and presented memorials to Provost Stuart, recommending measures necessary to be taken for the defence of the town, which they who knew his opinion upon that subject were certain he would reject.

* The poll election was finished on the 28th of November, in the year 1746. Provost Stuart's trial ended on the 27th of March, 1747.

CHAPTER V.

Charles comes to Holyrood House.—His Father proclaimed.—The Dragoons join Sir John Cope.—His march towards Edinburgh—Receives Information of the Rebels advancing to meet him—Forms his Army to receive the Enemy.—The Rebels come in sight.—A Morass between the Armies.—Various Movements till Night.—The Rebels pass the Morass.—The Battle of Preston.

ABOUT ten o'clock the main body of the rebels marching by Duddingston (to avoid being fired upon by the Castle) entered the King's Park, and halted in the hollow between the hills, under the peak called Arthur's Seat. By and by Charles came down to the Duke's Walk, accompanied by the Highland Chiefs, and other commanders of his army.

The Park was full of people, (amongst whom was the Author of this History,) all of them impatient to see this extraordinary person. The figure and presence of Charles Stuart were not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of

youth, * tall and handsome, of a fair complexion; he had a light-coloured periwig with his own hair combed over the front: he wore the Highland dress, that is, a tartan short coat without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the order of St Andrew. Charles stood some time in the Park to shew himself to the people; and then, though he was very near the palace, mounted his horse, either to render himself more conspicuous, or because he rode well, and looked graceful on horseback.

The Jacobites were charmed with his appearance: they compared him to Robert the Bruce, whom he resembled (they said) in his figure as in his fortune. The Whigs looked upon him with other eyes. They acknowledged that he was a goodly person; but they observed, that even in that triumphant hour, when he was about to enter the palace of his fathers, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy: that he looked like a gentleman and a man of fashion, but not like a hero or a conqueror. Hence they formed their conclusions that the enterprize was above the pitch of his mind; and

* Born at Rome on the 31st of December, in the year 1720, he was in the 25th year of his age. While Charles was standing in the Duke's Walk, one of the spectators endeavoured to measure shoulders with him; and said he was more than 5 feet 10 inches high.

that his heart was not great enough for the sphere in which he moved. When Charles came to the palace, he dismounted, and walked along the piazza, towards the apartment of the Duke of Hamilton. When he was near the door, which stood open to receive him, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, drew his sword, and raising his arm aloft, walked up stairs before Charles. The person who enlisted himself in this manner, was James Hepburn of Keith, whose name will be mentioned again more than once; he had been engaged, when a very young man, in the rebellion of the year 1715, and from that time (learned and intelligent as he was) had continued a Jacobite. But he had compounded the spirit of Jacobitism with another spirit; for he disclaimed the hereditary indefeasible right of kings, and condemned the government of James the Second; but he also condemned the Union between England and Scotland, as injurious and humiliating to his country; saying, (to use his own words,) that the Union had made a Scotch gentleman of small fortune nobody, and that he would die a thousand times rather than submit to it.

Wrapped up in these notions, he kept himself for thirty years in constant readiness to take arms, and was the first person who joined Charles at Edinburgh; idolized by the Jacobites, and beloved

by some of the best Whigs, who regretted * that this accomplished gentleman, the model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour, should sacrifice himself to a visionary idea of the independence of Scotland.

The Highlanders, when they entered the town in the morning, had secured the heralds and pursuivants: at mid-day they surrounded the Cross with a body of armed men, and obliged the heralds to proclaim King James, to read the Commission of Regency, and the Declaration, dated at Rome, in December 1743, with a manifesto in the name of Charles Prince Regent, dated at Paris, 16th of May 1745. An immense multitude witnessed this ceremony, which was performed at noon.

The populace of a great city, who huzza for any thing that brings them together, huzzaed; and a number of ladies in the windows strained their voices with acclamation, and their arms with waving white handkerchiefs in honour of the day.

These demonstrations of joy, amongst people of condition, were chiefly confined to one sex; few gentlemen were to be seen on the streets, or in the windows; and even amongst the inferior people, many shewed their dislike by a stubborn silence.

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* The Earl of Stair, and Lord Milton.

Whilst the heralds were proclaiming King James at Edinburgh, Sir John Cope was landing his troops at Dunbar: the two regiments of dragoons had come there on the morning of the 17th, in a condition not very respectable. * The disembarkation of the troops, artillery and stores, was not completed till the 18th; that day a volunteer from Edinburgh was introduced to Sir John Cope, who told the General that he had remained in Edinburgh after the rebels took possession of the town, not only from curiosity to see the Highland army and their leader, but to make himself sure what was the number of the rebels, which, during their march to Edinburgh, nobody seemed to know.

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* The two regiments of dragoons, having retreated from the Colt Bridge, halted some time at Leith, and at Musselburgh, then they went on to a field between Preston Grange and Dauphinston, where they dismounted and prepared to stay all night; but a dragoon seeking forage for his horse between ten and eleven o'clock, fell into an old coal-pit which was full of water, and made such a noise that the dragoons thought the Highlanders had got amongst them; and mounting their horses, made the best of their way to Dunbar. Colonel Gardner had gone to his own house, which was hard by, and locked the door when he went to bed, so that he heard nothing of the matter till next morning, when he rose, and followed his men with a heavy heart; for the road to Dunbar was strewed with swords, pistols, and firelocks, which were gathered together, and carried in covered carts to Dunbar; so that the flight of the two regiments was very little known in the army.

That he had gone to the different posts which they occupied in the town, and reckoned them pretty exactly: that he had gone up to the hollow between the hills, where the main body of their army lay: that when he came there, fortune favoured his design; for a great quantity of provisions, which had been ordered from the town, was brought to the Highlanders, just as he arrived amongst them; and they were sitting in ranks upon the ground, extremely intent on their food.

That in this situation he found no difficulty in counting them man by man, and was persuaded that the whole number of Highlanders, whom he saw, within and without the town, did not amount to 2000 men; but he was told that several bodies of men from the North were on their way, and expected very soon to join them at Edinburgh.

The General asked what sort of appearance they made, and how they were armed. The volunteer answered, that most of them seemed to be strong, active, and hardy men: that many of them were of a very ordinary size, and, if clothed like Lowcountry men, would (in his opinion) appear inferior to the King's troops; but the Highland garb favoured them much, as it shewed their naked limbs, which were strong and muscular: that their stern countenances, and bushy uncombed hair, gave them a fierce, barbarous, and imposing aspect. As to their arms, he said that they had no cannon nor artillery of

any sort, but one small iron gun which he had seen without a carriage, lying upon a cart, drawn by a little Highland horse: that about 1400 or 1500 of them were armed with firelocks and broad-swords: that their firelocks were not similar nor uniform, but of all sorts and sizes, muskets, fusees, and fowling-pieces: that some of the rest had firelocks without swords, and some of them swords without firelocks: that many of their swords were not Highland broad-swords, but French: that a company or two (about 100 men) had each of them in his hand the shaft of a pitch-fork, with the blade of a scythe fastened to it, somewhat like the weapon called the Lochaber axe, which the town guard soldiers carry: But all of them, he added, would be soon provided with firelocks, as the arms belonging to the Trained Bands of Edinburgh had fallen into their hands. Sir John Cope dismissed the volunteer, with many compliments for bringing him such certain and accurate intelligence.

At Dunbar some of the judges and men of the law came to the camp, resolving to continue with the army, not as fighting men, but as anxious and interested spectators of the approaching action. At Dunbar the Earl of Home joined Sir John Cope. He was then an officer in the Guards, and thought it his duty to offer his service, when the King's troops were in the field. He came to Dunbar at-

tended by one or two servants. There were not wanting persons upon this occasion to make their remarks, and observe the mighty change which little more than a century had produced in Scotland.

It was known to every body, who knew any thing of the history of their country, that the ancestors of this noble Lord (once the most powerful Peers in the south of Scotland) could, at a short warning, have raised in their own territories, a body of men whose approach that Highland army, which had got possession of the capital of Scotland (and was preparing to fight the whole military force in that kingdom,) would not have dared to wait. On the 19th of September, Sir John Cope with his army left Dunbar, and marched towards Edinburgh. This little army made a great show, the cavalry, the infantry, the cannon, with a long train of baggage carts, extended for several miles along the road. The people of the country, long unaccustomed to war and arms, flocked from all quarters, to see an army going to fight a battle in East Lothian; and, with infinite concern and anxiety for the event, beheld this uncommon spectacle.

That day the army encamped in a field to the west of the town of Haddington. In the evening it was proposed to the General to employ some of those young people who followed the camp, to ride between Haddington and Duddingston, during the dark hours, lest the Highlanders (whose movements

were rapid) should march in the night time, and surprise the army. The General approved the proposal; and sixteen young men, most of whom had been volunteers at Edinburgh, offered their service. About nine o'clock at night, eight of them (two together) set out by four different roads that led to Duddingston; and returning at midnight to the camp, made a report to the officer who commanded the piquet; the other eight set out when they returned; and rode till break of day between the two armies. Two of the last division never came back to Haddington. Next day the army moved again, directing their movement towards Edinburgh by the post road, till they came near Huntington; and turning off there, took the low road by Saint Germains* and Seaton. In this march, the officers assured the spectators, of whom no small number attended them, that there would be no battle, for as the cavalry and infantry were joined, the Highlanders would not venture to wait the attack of so complete an army. It is doubtful whether or not the people who talked in this manner really thought so; but such was the tone o

* Sir John Cope, in the account which he gave to the Board of General Officers, says, that he left the post road because there were defiles and inclosures near that road, where cavalry could not act.

the army; and whoever did not hold the same language, was looked upon as a lukewarm friend..

The van of the army was entering the plain between Seaton and Preston, when Lord Loudon,* who had been sent on to reconnoitre the ground, came back at a good pace, and informed the General that the rebels were in full march towards the King's army: that he had seen them, and having viewed them with good glasses, was certain that it was not a detachment, but the whole body of the Highland army.

Sir John Cope, informed of the approach of the rebels, thought that the plain between Seaton and Preston, which he saw before him, was a very proper piece of ground to receive them, and continued his march along the high road to Preston, till he came to the place since well known by the name of the field of battle, and there he formed his army, fronting the west, from which the enemy was expected. In a very short time after Sir John Cope had taken his ground, the Highland army came in sight.

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* From the time Sir John Cope left Stirling, Lord Loudon had been with him acting as Adjutant-General. When the army took the low road to Edinburgh, Sir John Cope sent on Lord Loudon and Lord Home, with the Quarter-Master-General, to mark out a camp for the army near Musselburgh, as the General intended to go no farther that day.

As every body that had a mind might go to Dunbar and see what was doing there, the rebels had notice when the troops were disembarked, when they began their march towards Edinburgh, and how far they came the first day. On Thursday evening Charles came to Duddingston, and calling a Council of War, proposed to march next morning and meet Sir John Cope half way. The members of the Council agreed that there was nothing else to be done. Charles then asked the Highland Chiefs, how they thought their men would behave when they met Sir John Cope, who had at last plucked up the spirit to give them battle. The Chiefs desired Macdonald of Keppoch to speak for them, as he had served in the French army, and was thought to know better than any of them what the Highlanders could do against regular troops. Keppoch said, that as the country had been long at peace, few or none of the private men had ever seen a battle, and it was not very easy to say how they would behave; but he would venture to assure his Royal Highness, that the gentlemen would be in the midst of the enemy, and that the private men, as they loved the cause, and loved their Chiefs, would certainly follow them. Charles declared that he would lead them on himself, and charge at their head. The Chiefs exclaimed, they were ruined and undone; for if any accident befel him, a defeat or a victory was the same to them: that if he per-

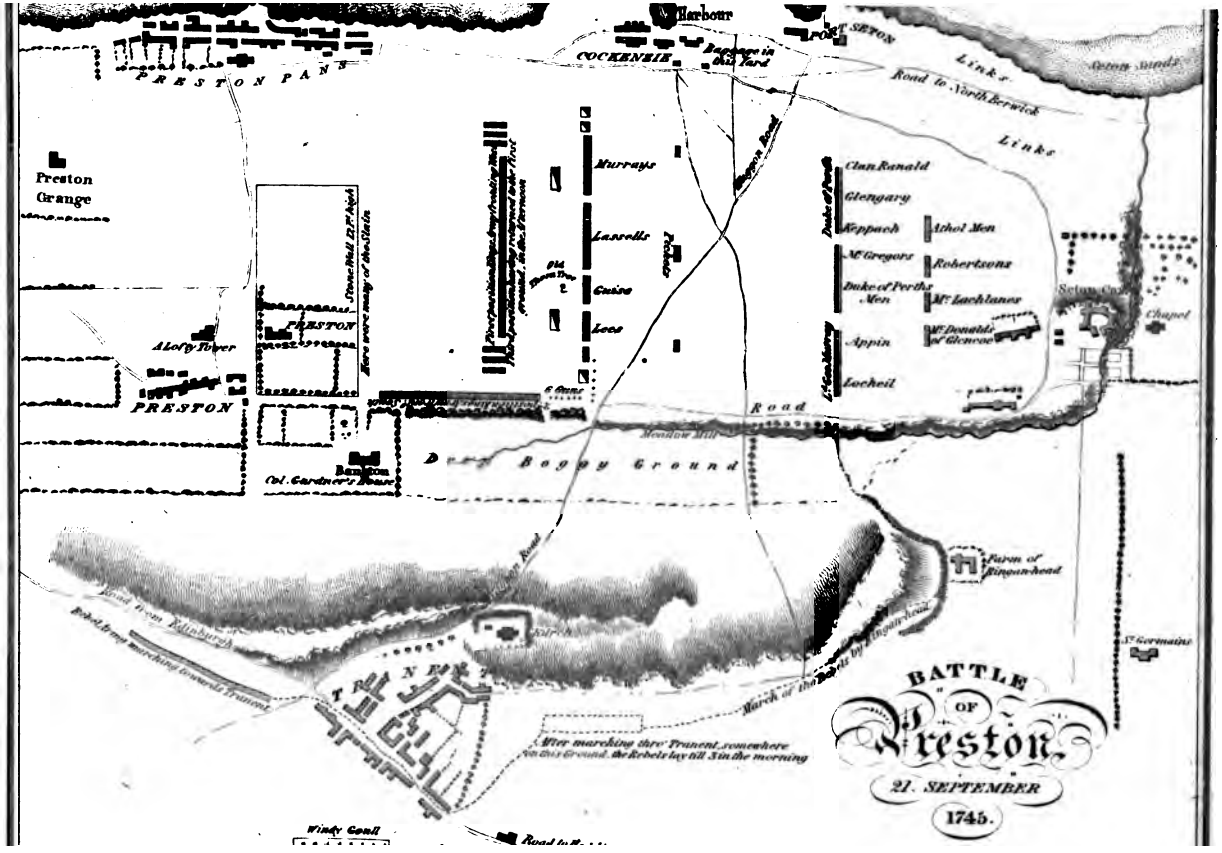
sisted in his resolution, they would go home, and make the best terms they could for themselves. This remonstrance had the desired effect; and Charles did not persist.

Next morning the Highland army marched from Duddingston in a column whose front was very narrow, three men in a rank; they crossed the river Esk at the Bridge of Musselburgh, and proceeded along the post road, till they came to Edge Bucklin Brae. There they left the post road, and going by the west side of Walliford, advanced a good way up Fawside Hill; then turning to the left, bent their course towards Tranent, and coming in upon the post road again, a little to the west of that town, continued their march till the King's army saw them appear. The soldiers shouted with great vehemence, the Highlanders returned the shout; and marching on till the head of the column* was near Tranent, they halted, faced to the left, and formed the line of battle, about half a mile from the King's army.

* The Highland regiments, drawn up three men deep, marched off by the flank, which the regulars call marching by files. When the head of the column reached the place intended, the men were ordered to halt, face to the right or left, and the column became a line. They always marched in this manner, sometimes in one column, sometimes in two.

As the Highlanders in marching from Duddingston had made a circuit, they did not come from that quarter whence they were expected; and Sir John Cope, as soon as he saw them appear on his left, put his troops in motion, and changing the front of his army from west to south, faced the enemy. On his right was the village of Preston; and still nearer his right, the east wall of Mr Erskine of Grange's Park, which, extending a great way from south to north, had a high road at each end of it. On his left was the village of Seaton; in his rear, the village of Cockenzie, and the sea; in his front the rebels, and the town of Tranent. Between the two armies was a morass; the ground on each side of it was soft, boggy, and full of springs, that formed a run of water, which went down in a ditch to Seaton, where it ended in a mill-dam. In this boggy ground there were a great many cuts and drains which had made some parts of it more firm; and in these places there were several small inclosures, with hedges, dry stone dykes, and willow trees. In the front, and but a few paces from the front of the King's army, there was a ditch, with a thick and strong hedge.

The distance between the two armies, that were separated by this uncouth piece of ground, was little more than half a mile. In number they were nearly equal; the superiority, though but small,


BATTLE OF Preston.
21. SEPTEMBER
1745.
Harbour
PORT SETON
COCKENZIE
Baggage in this Yard
Links
Road to North Berwick
Seton Sands
PRESTON PANS
Preston Grange
Murrays
Lassells
Guise
Lees
Pickets
Clan Ranald
Glengary
Keppach
Athol Men
McGregors
Robertsons
Duke of Perths Men
McLachlanes
Appin
McDonalds of Glencoe
Locheil
Seton Cove
Chapel
A Lofty Tower
PRESTON
Stone Wall 12 Ft. high
Here were many of the Slain
Bannton
Col. Gardner's House
Road
Meadow Mill
Boggy Ground
Farm of Ringan-head
St. Germains
Road from Edinburgh
Rebel Army marching towards Tranent
TRANENT
March of the Rebels by Ringan-head
After marching thro' Tranent, somewhere on this Ground, the Rebels lay till 3 in the morning
Windy Goull

was on the side of the rebels.* Lord George Murray, Lieutenant-General of the Highland army, examined several people of the neighbourhood about the ground between the armies, to learn whether or not the Highlanders could make their way through the morass, and close with the King's troops. The accounts which he received were not favourable to his wishes. To make himself sure, by the report of a military man, he sent an officer to view the ground. This officer (known afterwards to be Ker of Gradon) came down from the Highland army alone; he was mounted upon a little white pony; and with the greatest deliberation rode between the two armies, looking at the ground on each hand of him. Several shots were fired at him as he went

* Sir John Cope's army, when he avoided an engagement with the rebels posted at Corryarrak, consisted only of 1400 men. In marching to Inverness, and from Inverness to Aberdeen, he met with two companies of Guise's regiment, which he brought with him to Dunbar. At Dunbar he was joined by the two regiments of dragoons, amounting to 600 men; so that his army, at the battle of Preston, consisted of 2100 men, besides some new raised companies of Lord Loudon's regiment, and the 42d, which were sent to Cockenzie as the baggage guard. When the rebels came to Edinburgh they were somewhat under 2000 men. Next day 150 M'Lachlans joined them; and before they marched from Duddingston to meet Sir John Cope, they were joined by 250 Athol men; so that the rebel army, at the battle of Preston, amounted nearly to 2400.

along. When he came to a dry stone dyke that was in his way, he dismounted, and, pulling down a piece of the dyke, led his horse over it. He then returned to Lord George Murray, and assured him that it was impossible to get through the morass, and attack the enemy in front, without receiving several fires. Soon after this piece of information, Charles, with a great part of his army, moved towards Dauphinston on their left, till they came opposite to Preston Tower, and seemed to meditate an attack from that quarter. General Cope observing this movement, resumed his first position, and formed his army with their front to Preston, and their right to the sea.

By and by the Highlanders returned to their former ground, and the King's army did the same. The afternoon was spent in various movements,*

* During these movements the two gentlemen who had set out for Haddington as scouts, and never returned, made their appearance. They were Francis Garden and Robert Cunningham (afterwards Lord Gardenston and General Cunningham.) They had gone so near Duddingston that they were taken prisoners by the rebels, who threatened to hang them as spies; and when the rebel army marched to meet Sir John Cope, the prisoners were carried along with them, to be placed, they said, in the front of the battle, and exposed to the fire of their friends. When the armies came in sight of each other, the Highlanders marched them backward and forwards for some time, and at last allowed them to slip away.

Sir John Cope always endeavouring to preserve the advantage of his situation. But when evening came, and night approached, his situation did not seem so advantageous as he imagined. It appeared too plainly that his troops were shut up, and confined to a place, from which it was not thought safe for them to go very far, whilst the rebels were at liberty to move about as they pleased, and were actually in continual motion, hovering about the King's army, to find an opportunity and rush in upon them. The night was at hand, dark and cold; for although the weather was fine, and remarkably warm in the day time, the nights were cold and frosty, as they usually are in Scotland at that season, (for it was the 20th day of September, old style.)

Then, and not till then, some people began to fear that the army, which stood upon the defensive, and was to pass the night under arms, would be attacked in the morning with advantage by an enemy, who, secure from attack, and sheltered from the cold by their plaids, might lie down, take their rest, and rise fresh and vigorous for the fight. Such were the gloomy reflections on one side, when night sat down upon the field.

Sir John Cope, to secure his army during the night, advanced picquets and outguards of horse and foot along the side of the morass, very near as far east as the village of Seaton. He ordered fires

to be kindled in the front of his army, and sent down the baggage and the military chest to Cockenzie, guarded by forty men from one of the regiments of the line, and all the Highlanders of his army, who were two companies of new raised men, belonging to Lord Loudon's regiments, and the two additional companies of Lord John Murray's regiment, that had marched with Sir John Cope from Stirling to Inverness,* and by desertion were reduced to 15 men a company.

The line of battle formed along the side of the morass, consisted of five companies of Lee's regiment on the right, of Murray's regiment on the left, of eight companies of Lascelles', and two of Guise's regiment, in the centre. On the right of the line of foot were two squadrons of Colonel Gardner's regiment of dragoons; and on the left two squadrons of General Hamilton's, having the third squadron of each regiment placed in the rear of the other two squadrons, without any infantry. The cannon were placed on the left of the army (near the waggon road from Tranent to Cockenzie,) guarded by a company of Lee's regiment, commanded by Captain Cochrane, under the orders of

* When Sir John Cope left Inverness, 200 Highlanders (Monroes) marched with his army to Aberdeen, but refused to embark, as it was so near the time of harvest.

Lieutenant-Colonel Whiteford. As soon as it was dark the Highlanders moved to their right, and took up their ground below the east end of the town of Tranent, where the morass seemed more practicable. Charles and his officers held a Council of War, in which it was resolved to attack the King's army from that quarter at break of day. The Highlanders wrapt themselves up in their plaids, and lay down to sleep. There was in the rebel army a person who had joined them at Edinburgh: his name was Robert Anderson (the son of Anderson of Whitbrough in East Lothian, who had been engaged in the Rebellion of the year 1715.) He knew the country exceedingly well; and, having been consulted by Lord George Murray about the ground between the two armies, had given him the same account which Ker of Gradon did after his survey. Anderson had been present at the Council of War held to determine the manner of attack, but did not take the liberty to speak and give his opinion. After Charles and his officers had separated, Anderson told Mr Hepburn of Keith that he knew the ground perfectly, and was certain that there was a better way to come at the King's army than that which the Counsellors of Charles had resolved to follow: that he would undertake to shew them a place where they might easily pass the morass without being seen by the

enemy, and form without being exposed to their fire. Mr Hepburn listened attentively to this information, and expressed his opinion of it in such terms, that Anderson desired he would carry him to Lord George Murray. Mr Hepburn advised him to go himself to Lord George Murray, who knew him, and would like better to receive information from him alone, than when introduced by another person. When Anderson came to Lord George Murray, he found him asleep; and, awakening him, repeated what he had said to Mr Hepburn, adding, that he was willing to go foremost and lead the men through the morass. Lord George Murray saw at once the importance of this information, and awakened Charles (who was lying on the ground* not far off, with a sheaf of peas under his head.) Charles having heard what Anderson said, was much pleased, and ordered Lochiel and the other Chiefs to be called, who unanimously declared their approbation of the plan of attack, proposed by a country gentleman who had never seen an army before. About three o'clock in the morning orders were sent to Lord Nairn, who had

* When Anderson came, Charles, Lord George Murray, and several of the Chiefs, were lying upon the ground very near one another, in a field of peas which had been cut some time, but was not led.

been detached with 500 men towards Preston (to prevent Sir John Cope from marching that way to Edinburgh,) to draw off his men, and join the army, which he immediately did. Before break of day the Highlanders began to move. Anderson led the way; next to him was the Major of the regiment of Clanronald with 40 men: close behind them was the army marching in column as before; three men in a rank. They came down by a sort of valley or hollow, that winds through the farm of Ringan Head. Not a whisper was heard amongst them. At first their march was concealed by the darkness, and when day began to break, by a frosty mist. They were near the place where Anderson intended to lead them through the morass, when some dragoons called, Who's there? The Highlanders made no answer, but marched on. The dragoons perceived what they were, and rode off to give the alarm. The Highlanders immediately entered the morass,* and passed through without

* The place where the rebels passed through the morass, is about 200 paces to the westward of the stone bridge built over Seaton mill-dam, many years after the Rebellion. The Highlanders crossed the ditch with the run of water, upon a little narrow timber bridge which still stands. The ground on both sides of this bridge was then so soft and boggy, that several of the Highlanders sunk a good way, and Charles himself fell upon one knee. The ground is now drained, and bears both grass and corn.

much difficulty. The column marched directly north towards the sea, till it was thought that the men who were behind them might have reached their ground; then the Duke of Perth, who led the column, ordered the men to halt, face to the left, and form a line as usual. The first line consisted of six regiments; the Clanronald regiment had the right; on their left stood the regiments of Glengary and Keppoch; in the centre of the line there was a regiment composed of the Duke of Perth's men, and the MacGregors; on their left was the regiment of Appin; and on the left of all the regiment of Lochiel. Behind the first line stood a body of reserve, or second line, commanded by Lord Nairn, consisting of the Athol men, the Robertsons of Strowan, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and the Maclachlans.* Between the first and second line Charles took his place. As soon as the men formed, the Duke of Perth sent Anderson to inform Lord George Murray that the right was ready to march. Anderson, in his way to Lord George, met an Aid-de-Camp sent by him, to tell the Duke of Perth it was time for the right to move, as the left was already advancing against

* The Athol men were 250; the Robertsons 100; the Macdonalds of Glencoe 120; the Maclachlans 150. The body of reserve was never engaged.

the enemy. Sir John Cope, informed by the dragoons who had seen the Highlanders that they were coming from the east, immediately put his troops in motion, and changed the front of his army from south to east. The disposition was the same, and each regiment in its former place in the line; but the out-guards of the foot not having time to find out the regiments to which they belonged, placed themselves on the right of Lee's five companies, and did not leave sufficient room for the two squadrons of dragoons to form; so that the squadron which Colonel Gardner commanded was drawn up* behind the other squadron commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney. The artillery with its guard which had been on the left, and very near the line, was now on the right, a little farther from the line, and in the front of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney's squadron. The ground between the two armies was an extensive corn field, plain and level, without a bush or tree. Harvest was just got in, and the ground was covered with a thick stubble, which rustled under the feet of the Highlanders as they ran on, speaking and muttering in a manner that expressed and heightened

* See Lord Loudon's Account of the Battle of Preston. Sir John Cope's Trial, p. 139.

their fierceness and rage. When they set out, the mist was very thick; but before they had got half-way the sun rose, dispelled the mist, and shewed the armies* to each other. As the left wing of the rebel army had moved before the right, their line was somewhat oblique, and the Camerons, who were nearest the King's army, came up directly opposite to the cannon, firing at the guard as they advanced. The people employed to work the cannon, who were not gunners† or artillery men, fled instantly. Colonel Whiteford fired five of the six

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* Some of the rebel officers have since acknowledged, that when they first saw the King's army, which made a most gallant appearance both horse and foot, with the sun shining upon their arms, and then looked at their own line, which was broken into clumps and clusters, (the bravest and best armed foremost) they expected that the Highland army would be defeated in a moment, and swept from the field.

† When Sir John Cope marched with his army to the north, there were no gunners nor matrosses to be had in Scotland, but one old man, who had belonged to the Scots train of artillery before the Union. This gunner, and three old soldiers belonging to the company of invalids in the garrison at the Castle of Edinburgh, Sir John Cope carried along with him to Inverness. When the troops came to Dunbar, the King's ship that escorted the transports furnished Sir John Cope with some sailors to work the cannon; but when the Highlanders came on, firing as they advanced, the sailors, the gunner, and

field-pieces with his own hand, which killed one private man, and wounded an officer in Lochiel's regiment. The line seemed to shake, but the men kept going on at a great pace. Colonel Whitney was ordered to advance with his squadron, and attack the rebels before they came up to the cannon. The dragoons moved on, and were very near the cannon, when they received some fire which killed several men, and wounded Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney. The squadron immediately wheeled about, rode over the artillery guard, and fled. The men of the artillery guard, who had given one fire, and that a very indifferent one, dispersed. The Highlanders going on without stopping to make prisoners, Colonel Gardner was ordered to advance with his squadron, and attack them, disordered as they seemed to be, without running over the cannon and the artillery guard. The Colonel advanced at the head of his men, encouraging them to charge; the dragoons followed him a little way, but as soon as the fire of the Highlanders reached

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the three old invalids, ran away, taking the powder flasks with them, so that Colonel Whiteford, who fired five of the field pieces, could not fire the sixth for want of priming. Sir John Cope had only four field-pieces when he came to Inverness, but he ordered two field-pieces to be taken from the castle there, and added to his train.

them, they reeled, fell into confusion, and went off as the other squadron had done. When the dragoons on the right of the King's army gave way, the Highlanders, most of whom had their pieces still loaded, advanced against the foot, firing as they went on. The soldiers, confounded and terrified to see the cannon taken, and the dragoons put to flight, gave their fire, it is said, without orders: the companies of the out-guard being nearest the enemy, were the first that fired, and the fire went down the line as far as Murray's regiment. The Highlanders threw down their muskets, drew their swords, and ran on. The line of foot broke as the fire had been given from right to left. Hamilton's dragoons seeing what had happened on the right, and receiving some fire at a good distance from the Highlanders advancing to attack them, they immediately wheeled about and fled, leaving the flank of the foot unguarded. The regiment which was next them (Murray's) gave their fire and followed the dragoons. In a very few minutes after the first cannon was fired, the whole army, both horse and foot, were put to flight. None of the soldiers attempted to load their pieces again, and not one bayonet was stained with blood. In this manner the battle of Preston was fought and won by the rebels: the victory was complete, for all the infantry of the King's army were either

killed or taken prisoners, except about 170,* who escaped by extraordinary swiftness, or early flight.

The number of private men in the King's army who were killed in the battle did not exceed 200;† but five officers were killed, and 80 officers (many of them wounded) were taken prisoners. Four officers of the rebel army, and 30 private men were killed; six officers and 70 private men were wounded. The cannon, the tents, the baggage, and the military chest of the King's army, with the men that guarded it, fell into the hands of the enemy. The dragoons, after their first flight, halted once or twice, but fled again, whenever any party of the rebels came up and fired at them. General Cope, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, gathered together about 450 dragoons at the west end of the village of Preston, and, marching

* On Monday the 23d, 105 soldiers who had escaped from the battle, were mustered in the castle of Edinburgh. Besides those that got into the castle, about 70 soldiers found their way to Berwick, where the number increased, for a good many of the men taken prisoners at Preston enlisted with the rebels, and, during their long stay at Edinburgh, deserted, and joined their comrades at Berwick; so that the number of soldiers who had escaped from the battle, and met at Berwick, amounted in the end of October to 200 men.

† Some accounts of the battle of Preston, written by officers in the rebel army, make the number of men in the King's army who were killed, to have been 400 or 500.

them by Soultra Hill and Lauder, reached Coldstream that night.

In this battle there were not wanting instances of generous valour on the side of the vanquished. Colonel Gardner, a veteran officer, who had served in the armies of the Duke of Marlborough, encouraging his men by his voice and example to charge the rebels, when he found himself abandoned by the dragoons, did not follow them, but endeavouring, wounded as he was, to join the foot, met a glorious death, which he preferred to flight. Captain Brymer of Lee's regiment, the only officer in the King's army who had seen Highlanders attack regular troops, (at the battle of Sheriffmuir,) and the only person who seemed to think* that there was anything formidable in their attack, when the rebels broke in upon that part of the line where he stood, disdained to turn his back, and was killed with his face to the enemy.

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* William Congalton of Congalton, coming to the camp at Haddington to inquire for Captain Brymer, who was his brother-in-law, found him in his tent reading, and asked what made him so grave, when all the other officers were in such spirits, and made light of the enemy. Captain Brymer answered, that he thought his brother officers would find themselves mistaken, for he was certain the Highlanders would make a bold attack.

Charles remained on the field of battle till mid-day, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, for the disposal of his prisoners, and preserving, from temper or from judgment, every appearance of moderation and humanity. That night he lay at Pinkie, and next morning returned to Edinburgh.

CHAPTER IV.

Charles at Holyrood House—Resolutions of his Council.—Contest with General Guest in the Castle.—The Rebels reinforced.—Some Ships arrive from France.—Correspondence of Charles with the Chiefs—Of the Chiefs with one another.—Their Engagements to join the Rebel Army.—Message by Lord Lovat's Secretary.—Embarrassment of Charles and his Council.—Resolution and Preparations to march into England.—Number of the Rebels when they left Edinburgh.

WHEN Charles with his army returned to Edinburgh, after the battle of Preston, the friends of government were extremely apprehensive that the rebels would march immediately to the southward, and make a dangerous progress in England, before the arrival of the British troops from Flanders. But Charles and his counsellors did not think it advisable to march into England with so small an army,* whose appearance might discourage their friends in that part of the country from declaring themselves. They therefore resolved to remain

* Besides the men killed and wounded in the battle, a good many of the Highlanders had gone home to their own country with the booty they had gained.

some time in Scotland, and wait for an accession of force, which they expected in consequence of their victory. Messengers were forthwith dispatched to France, and to the Highlands, with accounts of the battle of Preston, calculated to obtain the assistance which they required, to render, they said, their success certain and infallible. From the time that the rebel army returned victorious to Edinburgh, Charles, as Prince Regent, exercised every act of sovereignty, ordering regiments to be levied for his service, and troops of horse-guards to be raised for the defence of his person. To carry on business with the appearance of royalty, he appointed a Council to meet in Holyrood House every day at ten o'clock. The members of this Council were the two Lieutenant-Generals (the Duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray,) Secretary Murray, Sullivan, Quartermaster-General, Lord Pitsligo, Lord Elcho, Colonel of the first troop of Horse-Guards, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and all the Highland Chiefs.

For some days after the battle of Preston, the communication between the castle and the town of Edinburgh continued open. The Highlanders kept guard at the Weigh House, and at some old buildings still nearer the castle; but allowed necessaries of every kind to pass, particularly for the use of the officers. By and by they began to be more strict; and on the 29th of September, orders were

given to the guards to allow no person to pass or repass to the castle. That evening a letter was sent by General Guest to the Provost of Edinburgh, acquainting him, that unless a free communication was allowed between the castle and the town, the general would be obliged to make use of his cannon to dislodge the rebels, who blockaded the castle. The Provost obtained a respite till next day, when six deputies were sent down to the Abbey. They presented to Charles, General Guest's letter, which was really intended for him. Charles gave an answer in writing, expressing his surprise at the barbarity of the officer who threatened to bring distress upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for not doing what was out of their power to do; and observing, that if compassion to the inhabitants of Edinburgh should make him withdraw his guards from their posts, General Guest might with equal reason require him to leave the city with his troops, and abandon all the advantages of his victory.

The citizens transmitted to General Guest the answer which Charles had made to his letter; and they obtained from the General a suspension of the threatened cannonade, till the return of an express which was sent to London. This delay was granted by the General, upon condition that the rebels, in the meantime, should attempt nothing against the castle. This condition, however, seems not to have been well understood; for on the 1st of Oc-

tober the Highlanders having fired at some people whom they saw carrying provisions to the castle, the garrison next day fired both cannon and small arms at the houses that covered the Highland guard; upon which Charles published a proclamation prohibiting all correspondence with the castle upon pain of death; and gave orders to strengthen the blockade by posting additional guards at several places. When General Guest was informed of this proclamation, and the orders given by Charles, he sent a message to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, to acquaint them that he intended to demolish with his cannon those houses, where the guards were posted, that prevented provisions being carried to the castle, but that care should be taken to do as little damage as possible to the inhabitants of the city. Accordingly, about two o'clock on the 4th of October the cannonade began, and continued till the evening. As soon as it grew dark, the garrison made a sally, set fire to some of the houses that were next the castle, and made a trench between the castle and the upper end of the street, where they planted some field-pieces, and fired down the street with cartouch shot. Next day the cannonade continued, several of the rebels, and some of the inhabitants, were killed or wounded. In the evening, Charles published a proclamation recalling his orders, and allowing a communication between the town and the

castle. This cannonade, or, as it was called, bombardment of Edinburgh, was grievously complained of. The generality of people concluded that the garrison of the castle was in want of provisions, and that the General found himself under the necessity of keeping the communication open in the manner he did. It was not so; the castle was well provided, and General Guest meant to engage the Highlanders in a siege; and prevent them from marching into England. With this view, in the beginning of the week after the battle of Preston, he wrote four or five letters, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, acquainting his Grace, that there was but a very small stock of provisions in the castle of Edinburgh; that he would be obliged to surrender, if he was not relieved immediately; and he gave his advice, that the troops to relieve him should be sent by sea to Berwick or Newcastle, as the quickest conveyance. These letters were sent out from the castle, that they might fall into the hands of the rebels; but lest any of them should make its way through the Highlanders, and reach London, General Guest wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, that contained an account of the real state of the garrison, and of the deception which he intended to practise on the rebels. This letter was sent to Captain Beaver of the Fox man-of-war, lying in the Road of Leith, by one Corsar, a writing-master in Edinburgh,

who desired Captain Beaver to send his long-boat to Berwick with the general's letter, and put it into the post-house there, that it might be safely conveyed to London. During this contest with General Guest, which lasted from the 29th of September to the 6th of October, very few people in Edinburgh or its neighbourhood joined the rebel army; and no man of quality but Lord Kilmarnock, and Arthur Elphinstone, who soon afterwards, by his brother's death, became Lord Balmerino. About this time several bodies of men came up from the Low Country of the North, raised by some of the nobility and gentry in that part of Scotland which lies nearest the Highlands. The first person that came to Edinburgh was Lord Ogilvie, (eldest son of the Earl of Airly,) who arrived in town on the 3d of October, and brought with him a regiment of 600 men; a good many of the officers were of his family or name.

On the 4th of October, Gordon of Glenbucket arrived at Edinburgh with a body of men. Glenbucket, in the year 1715, had been a Major-General in the Pretender's army, commanded by the Earl of Marr. Some time after that he sold his paternal estate, and with the reversion, which was considerable, wadsetted* from the Duke of Gordon

* A wadset is a security or pledge of land for debt. The borrower of the money who gives the pledge is called the re-

a great tract of land in Strathavon, Strathdon, Glenlivet, and Auchindown. The inhabitants of these lands which lie near the line of partition that separates the Highlands from the Lowlands, partaking of the character of their neighbours, were among the first that took arms. Glenbucket brought with him a regiment of 400 men, he himself was colonel, his eldest son lieutenant-colonel, several of his sons were captains, and most of the officers were his relations or allies. On the 9th of October, Lord Pitsligo arrived in the camp at Duddingston ;* he was attended by a great many gentlemen from the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, who, with their servants well armed and mounted, formed a body of cavalry that served under his command : he also brought with him a small body of infantry (consisting of six companies,) which was called Lord Pitsligo's foot. This peer,

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versor. The creditor who lends the money and receives the pledge is called the wadsetter. The terms seem improper, but such was the language of the country. In the memory of our fathers, the younger sons of families, even in the south of Scotland, had farms in wadset for their patrimony; and if the farms were of such extent as to have a qualification, the wadsetter voted at every election of a member for the county.

* After the battle of Preston the tents of Sir John Cope's army were pitched at Duddingston : as it was very fine weather, the Highlanders could scarcely be prevailed upon to make use of them. Charles came very often to the camp, dined in his tent, and sometimes slept there.

who drew after him such a number of gentlemen, had only a moderate fortune; but he was much beloved and greatly esteemed by his neighbours, who looked upon him as a man of excellent judgment, and of a wary and cautious temper; so that when he, who was deemed so wise and prudent, declared his purpose of joining Charles, most of the gentlemen in that part of the country where he lived, who favoured the Pretender's cause, put themselves under his command, thinking they could not follow a better or a safer guide than Lord Pitsligo. About this time, that is, in the beginning of October, several ships from France arrived at Montrose, Stonehaven, and other sea-ports in the north of Scotland, with arms and ammunition. One of these ships, the first that came, besides arms and ammunition, brought over a small sum of money, together with Boyer Marques d'Equillez, who went on to Holyrood House, where he was called the French Ambassador. Another vessel, besides the same sort of cargo with the first, had some French Irish officers on board. A third ship landed part of a company of artillerymen, with six field-pieces. Meanwhile, several gentlemen from the North, and some petty chiefs from the Highlands and Islands, came to Edinburgh with companies of men, and joined the rebels; but the augmentation of their army by reinforcements from the Highlands did not proceed as Charles and his adherents expected

it would have done after the battle of Preston, when the victory they had obtained gave them (as they said) so fair a prospect of success. At this part of the story it seems proper to give an account of the correspondence which Charles had after the battle of Preston with those Highland Chiefs who had refused to join him when he landed, and also of the correspondence and engagements which those Chiefs had with one another while Charles remained at Edinburgh.

On the 24th of September, the third day after the battle of Preston, Charles sent a messenger, whose name was Alexander Macleod,* to the Isle of Skye, to assure Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Macleod of Macleod, that he did not impute their not joining him when he landed, to any failure of loyalty or zeal for his Majesty's cause, and to acquaint them, that notwithstanding the delay they had made, he was willing to receive them as the most favoured of his Majesty's loyal subjects.

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* This messenger carried with him a paper of instructions, containing not only what he should say to the Chiefs of Skye, but how he should treat with several other people according to circumstances. This paper has been preserved; it is entitled, "Instructions for Alexander Macleod, Advocate, given at our Palace of Holyrood House, 24th September, 1745, by his Highness's command.

(Signed) J. MURRAY."

See Appendix, No. 28.

From Skye, Alexander Macleod went to Castle Downie, and remained there some time with Lord Lovat, who, as soon as the news of the battle of Preston came to the Highlands, said it was a victory not to be paralleled in history; and that as sure as God was in Heaven,* his right master would prevail. Elated with the first glimpse of success, Lord Lovat began to assemble his men, and prepare to act that part which he had long intended, for he had been engaged in every design and conspiracy against government from the year 1719: he had accepted of several commissions† from the Pretender, and obtained a patent to be Duke of Fraser.

Engaged so deeply, he applied to those Chiefs, who, in his opinion, favoured the Pretender's cause, (though like him they had refused to join Charles when he landed,) assuring them, that now the time was come to shew what the Highlanders could do; and urging them to raise all the men they could, that they might join the Frasers, and march together to Edinburgh.

Opposed to Lord Lovat, stood the President of the Court of Session, who addressed himself to the

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* Lord Lovat's Trial, p. 38.

† One commission to be a general officer, dated in Queen Anne's time; another to be lord-lieutenant of all the counties north of the river Spey, dated in the year 1743.

Highland Chiefs, with most of whom he was intimately acquainted, exhorting those who he knew were well effected, to exert themselves on this occasion; and conjuring those who he believed favoured the Pretender, not to ruin themselves and their families, by engaging in so criminal and desperate an enterprize. Solicited on every side, several of the Chiefs were perplexed to such a degree, that, according to a vulgar but significant expression, they knew not what hand to turn themselves to; and to say the truth, it appears that some of them turned themselves to both hands, and changed their mind more than once before the Highland army left Edinburgh; for on the 9th of October, Fraser of Foyers, one of the Chieftains of the Clan Fraser, wrote* to the Marquis of Tullibardine, (called Duke of Athol in the rebel army,) acquainting him that the Macdonalds, and the Macleods of Skye, the Macintoshes, and the Mackenzies, were to march and join the Frasers near Corryarrak. "All the certainty I have of this," says Foyers, "is, that I was present at Beaufort† on Saturday last,

* Foyer's letter to the Duke of Athol was found among the Marquis of Tullibardine's papers, when he was taken prisoner after the battle of Culloden. The original is now in Mr Home's possession, and a copy of it is to be found in the Appendix, No. 29.

† Lord Lovat's house was sometimes called Beaufort, and sometimes Castle Downie.

when Macleod of Macleod was dispatched express to Skye, and is engaged in honour to be at Corryarrak with his men on Tuesday next, where the Frasers will join them."

This meeting of the clans at Corryarrak never took place; for some time after the date of Foyer's letter, Lord Lovat sent his secretary, Hugh Fraser, to Holyrood-house, to acquaint Charles that he had once expected to have assembled a body of four or five thousand men, at whose head he intended to march to Edinburgh, but as some people* had not acted up to their engagements, he could not assemble so great a body of men, and he, who was old and infirm, had resolved to stay at home, and send the Clan Fraser to join him, under the command of his eldest son, which was a stronger proof of his affection and attachment, than if he had come himself. When Hugh Fraser de-

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* Hugh Fraser does not name the people who had not acted up to their engagements; but Lord Lovat, in his letter to Lochiel (which was produced and read as evidence at Lovat's trial) says, that Macleod, before he set out from Castle Downie to Skye, swore in the most solemn manner that he would bring up his men, and join the Frasers near Corryarrak; but very soon afterwards wrote him a letter from Skye, that after deliberating with his neighbour Sir Alexander, and weighing the arguments on both sides, he and his neighbour had resolved to stay at home, and not to trouble the government.—*Lovat's Trial*, p. 138.

livered this message from Lord Lovat, Charles said it was very well, and dismissed him; but a few days after, Secretary Murray sent for Hugh Fraser to Holyrood House, where, in presence of some of the Highland Chiefs, he examined him, and insisted that he should go back immediately to the north, and carry with him a letter to Lord Lovat. The letter bore, that he (Secretary Murray) was extremely glad of the accounts he had received of his lordship's intentions; that he hoped he would persevere in them, and that he earnestly desired the Frasers would march forthwith. This desire of Secretary Murray's Lord Lovat did not comply with; for, before Hugh Fraser came back to Castle Downie, Lord Loudon had arrived at Inverness, and was in such force that Lord Lovat did not think it safe for him to send his clan to join the rebel army, but had recourse to his usual arts, and wrote a letter to the President,* ac-

* The President was not left to depend entirely upon the force of his arguments; for twenty blank commissions of independent companies (100 men in each company) had been sent down to him from the War-Office, to be filled up as he thought proper; and he who knew the Highlands, had disposed of these commissions to persons who raised the men immediately, and brought them to Inverness; so that the forces under Lord Loudon's command, which consisted of his own regiment, and the independent companies, were much superior to the forces Lord Lovat commanded.

quainting him that his son was so undutiful and obstinate as to raise the men against his will, and enter into the rebellion. This letter Hugh Fraser carried to the President, who told him, that if the Frasers marched, Lord Lovat would be seized, and his conduct inquired into. The President also gave him an answer in writing to Lord Lovat's letter, repeating what he had said by word of mouth; and Hugh Fraser returned with an answer to the same purpose from Lord Loudon, whom he had seen at Inverness. To conclude this account of the transactions in the north of Scotland; the Frasers did not march from Castle Downie till some time after the Highland army had left Edinburgh, and they got no farther than Perth, where they remained till the month of January.

The message from Lord Lovat by his secretary had exceedingly embarrassed Charles and his council. During their stay at Edinburgh, almost all the British troops had been brought over from Flanders, and 6000 men of the Dutch army (the quota of troops with which the States of Holland were bound by treaty to assist Britain in case of an invasion or rebellion) had arrived in England. Besides these veteran troops, thirteen regiments of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, raised and commanded by the nobility of England, were ready to take the field; so that the whole English

nation seemed to be unanimous and zealous to support the established government.

On the side of the rebels, every thing was dark and gloomy. The army of Lovat, which he called 4000 or 5000 men, and sometimes 6000, had burst like a bubble. Some reinforcements were still expected from the north, and several bodies of men were actually on their way; but what was to be done? what could they hope to do with the handful of men they had? After long and anxious deliberation, Charles and his council resolved to march into England, and push the enterprize to the utmost. Hopes were still entertained of an invasion from France, of an insurrection in England, and some, the bravest and most determined, trusted in themselves; for, after the battle of Preston, the generality of the rebels entertained a wonderful opinion of the Highlanders, and held the King's troops in great contempt. Orders were given in the end of October, to call in all their parties, to collect their whole force, and prepare for their march to England. Lord Strathallan was appointed to command in Scotland, when the army should leave Edinburgh, and to remain at Perth with some gentlemen in that neighbourhood who had joined the standard, and with a few French Irish officers, and their men, to receive the succours that were expected from France, from the Highlands, and from the Low Country

of the North, where many people were known to be well inclined to the cause, and were beginning in several places to take arms. On the last day of October, Charles, with his guards, and some of the clan regiments, left Edinburgh, and took up his quarters at Pinkie; next day he went to Dalkeith-house, where he was joined by the Clan Macpherson, under the command of their Chief, Macpherson* of Cluny, by Menzies of Shien and his

* Cluny, Chief of the Clan Macpherson, and many other disaffected Chiefs, were ready in the year 1744 to take arms and join the French army, under the command of Marshal Saxe, which was preparing to embark at Dunkirk and invade Britain; but when that design of invasion was frustrated, as has been mentioned, Cluny, who had a small estate, and thought there was no likelihood of another invasion from France, accepted a captain's commission in Lord Loudon's Highland regiment. Cluny was raising his men when Charles landed in the Highlands, and wrote him a letter, signed by his own hand, dated Boradale, August 6th, acquainting him that the standard was to be erected in Glenfinnin on the 19th, where his appearance would be very useful there, or as soon as he could thereafter. Notwithstanding this letter, Cluny waited on Sir John Cope, and went with him to Ruthven, where he was allowed by Sir John Cope and Lord Loudon to return home, and ordered, as soon as he assembled his men, to march them to Inverness. Cluny went to his own house, and that night about ten o'clock a party of 100 men from the rebel army seized him, and carried him prisoner to Dalwhinnie, where he was urged to join the standard; which he refused, and persisted in his refusal till the Duke of Perth, with Lord George Murray, joined Charles at Perth, and Cluny followed their example.

men, with some other Highlanders, amounting in all to 900 or 1000 men. This was the last reinforcement that arrived before Charles marched to England.

At this part of the story, it seems proper to mention the number of the rebel army, with some other particulars in which this Highland army differed from all other armies. When the rebels began their march to the southward, they were not 6000 men complete; they exceeded 5500, of whom 400 or 500 were cavalry; and of the whole number, not quite 4000 were real Highlanders, who formed the clan regiments, and were indeed the strength of the rebel army.* All the regiments of foot wore the Highland garb; they were thirteen in number, many of them very small. Besides the two troops of horse-guards, there were Lord Pitsligo's and Strathallan's horse, Lord Kilmarnock's horse-grenadiers, and a troop of light horse, or hussars, to scour the country and procure intelligence. The pay of a captain in this army was half-a-crown a-day; the pay of a lieutenant, two shillings; the pay of an ensign, one shilling and sixpence; and every private man received sixpence a-day, without deduction. In the clan regiments, every com-

* See an account of the number of the Highland army, at several different times, by Patullo, muster-master of the rebel army. Appendix, No. 30.

pany had two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns. The front rank of each regiment consisted of persons who called themselves gentlemen, and were paid one shilling a-day; these gentlemen were better armed than the men in the ranks behind them, and had all of them targets, which many of the others had not.

Every clan regiment was commanded by the Chief, or his son, or his brother (the nearest of kin, whoever he was), according to the custom of clanship. In the day of battle, each company of a Highland regiment furnished two of their best men as a guard to the Chief. In the choice of this guard, consanguinity was considered; and the Chief (whose post was the centre of the regiment, by the colours) stood between two brothers, or two cousins german. The train of artillery which belonged to this army of invaders consisted of General Cope's field-pieces, taken at the battle of Preston, and of some pieces of a larger calibre, brought over in the ships from France, amounting in all to 13 pieces of cannon.

As Charles returned to Edinburgh the day after the battle of Preston, and lived at Holyroodhouse from the 22d of September to the 31st of October, some persons who read this history may wish to know in what manner he lived, what company he saw, and how he received them. Of these matters nothing has been said hitherto, nor can the author say any thing from his own knowledge, for he did

not come to Edinburgh till some time after Charles left it. The following short account is extracted from the Memoirs of an officer in his army, who saw him every day:—

The Prince Regent in the morning before the council met, had a levee of his officers, and other people who favoured his cause. When the council rose, which often sat very long, (for his counsellors frequently differed in opinion with one another, and sometimes with him,) Charles dined in public with his principal officers. After dinner he rode out with his life guards, and usually went to Duddingston, where his army lay. In the evening he returned to Holyroodhouse, and received the ladies who came to his drawing-room: he then supped in public, and generally there was music at supper, and a ball afterwards.

CHAPTER VII.

March of the Rebels towards Carlisle.—Carlisle invested.—General Wade at Newcastle.—Charles marches to Brampton.—The Duke of Perth sent back to besiege Carlisle.—The Mayor capitulates.—The Rebels take possession of the City—Dissension in their Army—Cause of Dissension—The Cause removed.—A Council of War.—Order sent to Lord Strathallan.—March of the Rebels from Carlisle—They arrive at Derby.—Council held at Derby.—Resolution of the Council to march back.—The Retreat begins.—The Duke of Cumberland pursues.—Skirmish at Clifton.—The Rebels continue their march—Cross the Esk, and return to Scotland.

WHEN Charles left Edinburgh, it was not known by what road he purposed to enter England. Part of his army moving in different divisions by Peebles and Moffat, pointed towards the west; but one division, consisting of several Highland regiments and the horse-guards, commanded by Charles himself, marched to Kelso, which is the road either to Newcastle or Carlisle. At Kelso they halted one day, and nobody knew what was to be their route, till Charles with his division took

the Jedburgh road, which leads to Carlisle, and shewed that he intended to advance by the west of England.

On the 8th of November, the van of the Highland army crossed the river Esk, and was quartered that night at a place in Cumberland called Reddings. Next day all the divisions of the army joined and invested the city of Carlisle, which in former times had been a place of some strength; but the fortifications had been long neglected: there were no regular troops in the city, and only one company of invalids in the castle. The garrison consisted of those inhabitants who had taken arms, and some country people whom the gentlemen in the neighbourhood had sent to help the inhabitants to defend their walls.

Before the rebel army broke ground, intelligence came that General Wade with his army had marched from Newcastle to raise the siege.

Charles and his officers immediately resolved to advance with the best part of their army to Brampton, and watch General Wade's motions, that if he should advance towards Carlisle, they might give him battle upon the hilly ground between Newcastle and Carlisle. Charles leaving one or two Low-country regiments before Carlisle, marched his troops to Brampton, and kept them there for several days; but being informed that General Wade had not moved from Newcastle, he sent the Duke

of Perth with several regiments of foot, and some troops of horse, to besiege Carlisle. On the 13th, the Duke of Perth, with the forces under his command, arrived at Carlisle, and the trenches were opened that night between the English and Scots gate. The besieged kept a constant fire both of cannon and small arms, but at five o'clock in the evening of the 14th, they hung out a white flag, and desired to capitulate for the city; but the Duke of Perth, who was in the trenches, refused, unless the castle of Carlisle was included in the capitulation. The Mayor then requested a cessation of arms till next day, which was granted, and the city and castle of Carlisle surrendered on the 15th of November.

That very day General Wade, with his army, left Newcastle, and had got as far as Hexham in his way to Carlisle on the 17th, when he received certain information that the city had surrendered to the rebels, upon which he marched his troops back to Newcastle.

The rebel army, after the surrender of Carlisle, remained there several days, and dissension prevailed amongst them. The Duke of Perth, who was a Roman Catholic, as eldest lieutenant-general, had commanded the army during the siege of Carlisle, and signed the capitulation. The army murmured at this; and Lord George Murray re-

signed his commission as lieutenant-general, acquainting Charles that he would serve as a volunteer.

The Duke of Perth, informed of the state of affairs, waited upon Charles and resigned his commission of lieutenant-general, assuring him, at the same time, that he would serve at the head of the regiment which he himself had raised. Lord George Murray resumed his commission, and henceforth, as the only lieutenant-general, commanded the army. A day or two after this transaction, a council of war was called, in which various proposals were made and taken under consideration. It was proposed to march to Newcastle, and bring General Wade's army to an action: it was proposed to march directly to London by the Lancashire road: it was proposed to do quite the contrary, and return to Scotland, as there was not the least appearance of an invasion from France, or an insurrection in England. Charles declared his adherence to the resolution taken at Edinburgh, of marching directly to London at all hazards, and desired Lord George Murray to give his opinion of the different proposals.

Lord George Murray spoke at some length, compared the advantages and disadvantages of each of the proposals, and concluded, that if his Royal Highness chose to make a trial of what

could be done by marching to the southward, he was persuaded that his army, small as it was, would follow him: Charles said he would venture it. It was a venture.

Before Charles set his foot on English ground, all the infantry of the British troops in Flanders had arrived in England, two battalions * excepted; and these troops, with the Dutch auxiliaries, and the new raised regiments, formed three armies, each of them superior in number to the rebel army.

One army, commanded by General Wade, covered Newcastle. Another army advancing towards Lancashire, was commanded at first by General Ligonier, and afterwards by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. Besides these two armies, a number of old regiments, both horse and foot, that had served abroad,† were quartered at Finchley, Enfield, and other villages near London, ready, in case of need, to form a third army, which was to have been commanded by the King and the Earl of Stair.

According to the resolution of the Council of

* The last embarkation, consisting of seven battalions of foot, arrived in the river on the 4th of November. The rebel army entered England on the 8th of November.

† Some horse and dragoons had landed at the same time with the foot: the last embarkation of cavalry arrived on the 1st of December, so that only two battalions of British infantry, and four regiments of cavalry, remained in Flanders.

War, the rebel army* began their march to the southward, leaving 150 men of the Lowcountry regiments to garrison the castle of Carlisle. The rebels marched in two divisions. The first division, consisting of six regiments of foot, and the first troop of horse-guards, was commanded by Lord George Murray, and marched to Penrith on the 21st of November. The second division, which was called the main body, consisting of the Highland regiments, followed them next day, under the command of Charles; and coming to Penrith, occupied the quarters which the van had left. In the rear of this division were the cannon, guarded by the Duke of Perth's regiment: the second troop of horse-guards, with the rest of the horse, marched, some of them in the front, and some of them in the rear of the main body. In this manner they advanced by Penrith, Shap, Kendal, Lancaster, and Garstang, to Preston, where the whole army joined on the 27th. Next day they marched to Wigan, and quartered there and in the neighbouring villages. On the 29th, they marched on to Manchester, where they halted till the 31st. At Manchester several gentlemen, and about 200 or

* Before they left Carlisle, Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan was dispatched to Scotland, with an order to Lord Strathallan, commander-in-chief, to march immediately with all the forces under his command, and follow the army into England.

300 of the common people, joined the rebel army:* these were the only Englishmen (a few individuals excepted) who joined Charles in his march through the country of England: they were not attached to any of the Scots regiments, though some of the Lowcountry regiments needed recruits† very much, but formed a separate body, which was called the Manchester regiment, and commanded by Colonel Francis Townley, a gentleman of a good family in Lancashire, and a Roman Catholic.

From Manchester the rebel army marched on to Macclesfield: from Macclesfield the two divisions advanced by different roads, the one by Congleton, the other straight on to Leek, and from Leek by Ashburn to Derby,‡ where both divisions arrived on the 4th of December.

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* When the rebels marched from Carlisle to the southward, the people of England, in most of the towns through which they passed, shewed the greatest aversion to their cause. Some Memoirs written by the rebel officers mention that Charles ordered his father to be proclaimed King in all the towns through which they passed; and that no acclamations or ringing of bells were heard, but at Preston and Manchester.

† A good many men had deserted from the Lowcountry regiments in the march from Edinburgh to Carlisle.

‡ In the march from Carlisle to Derby, notice came to Charles that Lord John Drummond, the Duke of Perth's brother, had arrived at Montrose with his own regiment of foot, which he called the Royal Scots, with Fitzjames's regiment of horse, and the piquets of six Irish regiments in the service of France.

When Charles and his army were at Derby, they were rather nearer London than the Duke of Cumberland's army, divisions of which lay at Litchfield, Coventry, Stafford, and Newcastle-under-Line. It seemed to be the intention of the rebels to avoid an action with the Duke's army, and push on to London; but they took another course; for after halting a day or two at Derby, where it is said that more than one Council of War was held, they resolved, after much debate and contention, to return to Ashburn and march northward, till they should meet the other army coming from Scotland, which was supposed to be not inferior to the army at Derby. The person who proposed a retreat was Lord George Murray, who said they had advanced so far expecting an invasion from France, or an insurrection in England, neither of which had happened, that it would be an excess of temerity to advance any further against three armies collected to oppose them, each of which was greatly superior in number to the Highland army. When Lord George argued in this manner, he offered that, in case the retreat was agreed to, he would command the rear-guard. Another, and a very different account of this matter, is to be found in the Appendix. Both accounts agree in one circumstance, which is, that Charles was ex-

* Appendix, Nos. 32 and 33.

tremely averse to the retreat, and so much offended when it was resolved to return to Ashburn, that he behaved for some time as if he no longer thought himself commander of the army. In the march forward he had always been first up in the morning, had the men in motion before break of day, and usually marched on foot with them: but in the retreat, though the rest of the army were on their march, and the rear could not move without him, he made them wait a long time; and when he came out, mounted his horse, rode straight on, and got to his quarters with the van.

As soon as the Duke of Cumberland was certainly informed that the rebels had begun their retreat, (for at first the rumours were various and uncertain,) he pursued them, on the 8th of December, with all his cavalry and some infantry mounted on horses which the country furnished. But the Highlanders, having marched for Ashburn on the 6th, had got two days' march before the King's troops, and were not overtaken till the evening of the 18th of December, when a skirmish happened at Clifton, a village near Penrith, between the rear-guard of the rebel army and the pursuers. The main body of the rebel army had got to Penrith on the evening of the 17th; but Lord George Murray, who always commanded the rear guard, was left a good way behind, with the Glengary regiment which guarded the baggage, for the roads among the hills

of Westmoreland were so bad that the carts and carriages were continually breaking down; and Lord George, with his men, was obliged to take up his quarters at Shap, where he found Colonel Roy Stuart with his small regiment of 200 men.

Next day Lord George Murray marched with both regiments very early in the morning. When it was good day-light, some bodies of horse appeared on the heights behind him, of which Lord George sent notice to the army at Penrith. When he came near Clifton, he saw 200 or 300 horse drawn up between him and the village; these were not regular troops, but Cumberland people, and other volunteers, mounted to harass the rebels in their retreat. Lord George Murray ordered the Glengary regiment to attack them; the Highlanders threw off their plaids, and ran on to attack the horsemen, who immediately gallopped off.

The Highlanders marched on to Clifton, and Lord George, imagining that the horse he had seen would probably be about Lowther (the seat of Lord Lonsdale, who was Lord Lieutenant of the county,) went with the Glengary regiment to Lowther. In his way he made some prisoners, one of whom was a footman of the Duke of Cumberland.

The prisoners told Lord George, that the Duke of Cumberland, with 4000 horse, was about a mile behind him. Lord George immediately returned to Clifton, where he found two Highland regiments

come from Penrith to support the rear-guard; these were Cluny's regiment, commanded by himself, and the Appin regiment under the command of Ardsheil. Lord George Murray chafed that the dragoons had come so near him by his own fault, resolved to maintain his post, and give a check to the pursuers. He thought of doing something more, and dispatched Colonel Roy Stuart to the army at Penrith, requesting that 1000 men might be sent him. He intended, if his request had been complied with, to have marched a part of his forces by Lord Lonsdale's inclosures on his right, and to have gained the flank of the dragoons upon the moor, so that they might attack the main body of the Duke's cavalry, at the same time that any detachment from them should attack his men at Clifton. Colonel Roy Stuart returned, and brought an order from Charles, that the rear guard should retire to Penrith. Lord George Murray desired Colonel Stuart not to mention this order to any other person. The sun was set, and it was beginning to grow dark. The Duke's cavalry was formed in two lines upon Clifton Moor, half a mile or more from the village of that name. On one side of the high road from the moor to the village of Clifton, were Lord Lonsdale's inclosures of great extent. On the other side were the Clifton inclosures, which did not extend very far. In the high road Lord George Murray placed the Glengary

regiment; and on their right Colonel John Roy Stuart's regiment, lining the wall of one of Lord Lonsdale's inclosures. On the left of the Glengary regiment, and within the Clifton inclosures, he placed the Appin regiment, and on their left the Macpherson regiment. Lord George Murray went backwards and forwards, speaking to every commanding officer, and giving him particular directions what to do, for his situation was critical.* He then placed himself at the head of the Macpherson regiment, with Cluny by his side. Daylight was gone; the night being dark and cloudy, the moon sometimes was overcast, and at other times shone bright. By her light Lord George Murray saw a body of men (who were dismounted dragoons) coming from the moor, and advancing towards the Clifton inclosures, where he was standing with his two regiments, which had a hedge in their front very near them; and at some distance another hedge with a deep ditch, which terminated the Clifton inclosures. Lord George Murray ordered the two regiments to advance to the second hedge: in advancing, Cluny's regiment, which was

* At this time Major-General Gordon of Glenbucket came up and spoke with Lord George, regretting that he was not able to go on with his lordship, and begging him to be very cautious, for if any mischance should happen, he would be blamed.

nearer the second hedge than the other regiment, received a fire* from the dragoons, which they returned; and Lord George ordering them to attack sword in hand, before the dragoons could load again, they drew their swords, ran on, and attacked the dragoons, whom they drove from their ground; and forced them to retreat to their main body upon the moor. As soon as the dragoons gave way, the Macphersons shouted, to let their friends know they had repulsed them, and returned immediately to the post whence they came. During this conflict, which lasted but a few minutes, another body of dismounted dragoons advancing upon the high road, were repulsed by the Glengary regiment, and Colonel Roy Stuart's.† In this manner the skirmish ended, and Lord George Murray, without farther molestation, marched his four regiments to

* When the dragoons gave their fire, Cluny said, What the devil is this? Lord George told him that they had nothing for it, but to go down sword in hand, and immediately drew his sword, and called Claymore.

† Such is the account of the skirmish at Clifton, given by Lord George Murray, who, in his Memoirs, says that he has been more particular in his account of this little skirmish, because he observed that it was differently related in the English newspapers, as if the Highlanders had been driven from their posts at Clifton, whereas they remained there half an hour after the dragoons had retreated to their main body upon the moor.

Penrith, where they joined the army commanded by Charles, who soon after their arrival marched towards Carlisle, leaving the regiments which had been at Clifton to rest some hours, and refresh themselves, which they did, and then took the road to Carlisle, where the whole army arrived on the morning of the 19th.

In the castle of Carlisle 150 men had been left when the Highland army marched to the southward. It was now thought proper to strengthen the garrison; and a good deal of time was spent in finding people that would stay at Carlisle, for they knew their fate. The number, however, was made up at last to about 300 men, consisting partly of Englishmen (the Manchester regiment,) of Scotsmen belonging to the Lowcountry regiments, and a few Frenchmen and Irishmen. After halting twenty-four hours at Carlisle, the Highland army left that place on the 20th, crossed the river Esk, and, marching in two divisions, arrived at Annan and Ecclefechan the same day.

As there were no troops in that part of the country where the rebels entered Scotland, and the Duke of Cumberland pursued them no farther,*

* On the 21st of December the Duke of Cumberland marched his army from Penrith to Carlisle, and immediately invested the place; but being under a necessity of sending to Whitehaven for heavy cannon, the batteries were not erected till the

they marched in two divisions by Dumfries and Moffat to Glasgow, where they arrived on the 25th and 26th of December.

The people of Glasgow were not a little troubled at this visit from Charles and his army, who were likely to help themselves (as they did) with what they wanted * in the most opulent commercial city in Scotland, which had always been remarkably zealous for the government, both in church and state, as it was settled at the Revolution; and upon the present occasion had distinguished itself more than ever, as may be seen in the following chapter.

28th, and on the 30th the garrison surrendered at discretion. In this manner ended the winter campaign of the rebels in England.

* Charles required the Magistrates of Glasgow to furnish his army with 1200 shirts, 6000 short coats, 6000 pair of shoes, 6000 bonnets, 6000 pairs of stockings; the value of which, added to the 5500*l.* paid on the 27th of September, amounted to 10,000*l.*: and by an extract from the records of the town of Glasgow, signed by James Wilson, Town Clerk, it appears, that Parliament, in the year 1749, granted to his Majesty ten thousand pounds, to be paid to the Magistrates of Glasgow, to reimburse them for the expence they had incurred by their distinguished loyalty.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of Scotland while the Rebel Army was in England.—Preparations for War.—Head-Quarters of both Armies.—Skirmish at Inverury.—Number of the Rebels.—Contention and Animosity amongst them.—Charles marches to Stirling.—The Town surrenders.—The Rebels besiege the Castle.—General Hawley marches to raise the Siege.—The two Armies meet at Falkirk.—The King's Army defeated.—The Rebels take Possession of Falkirk.—Tumult and Mutiny in their Army.—The Duke of Cumberland arrives at Edinburgh.—Marches to attack the Rebels.—They retreat to the Highlands.—Escape from the Castle of Downe of the Volunteers taken Prisoners after the Battle of Falkirk.

WHILST Charles with his army remained at Edinburgh, everybody in the south of Scotland submitted to a force which they could not resist; and Charles was truly Prince Regent, governing a country in which there were no magistrates, no judges, and very few men in arms, but those who were under his command.

Soon after the rebel army entered England, Lord Milton, the Justice Clerk, with several other Judges of the Court of Session, attended by the She-

riffs of East Lothian and the Merse, with a good number of the gentlemen of these two counties, entered Edinburgh in procession; they were saluted by a general discharge of the cannon of the castle.

Next day two regiments of foot (Price's and Ligonier's) with Hamilton's and Gardner's dragoons, arrived at Edinburgh from Berwick.* It was intended that these regiments should march to Stirling, and guard the passages of the river Forth against the rebels at Perth, who were daily increasing in number.

The magistrates of Glasgow, encouraged by the return of the Judges, and the appearance of troops, offered to raise a body of men, and send them to Stirling to assist the King's troops in confining the rebels to the north. In their correspondence with Lord Milton upon this occasion, they required that government should furnish their men with arms, and allow pay to such of them as were not able to maintain themselves.

The number of men in different parts of the country, that were willing to serve government upon these conditions, Lord Milton, in his letter

* The Highland army crossed the river Esk on the 8th and 9th of November. The Judges entered Edinburgh on the 13th, and the troops from Berwick on the 14th.

to the Duke of Newcastle,* computes at 3000, of whom, he says, not above one half required to be paid.

The account of the arms delivered from the Castle of Edinburgh (with the dates of the delivery) which is still preserved, mentions the names of the different parishes, most of which are in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh † and Glasgow.

The King's troops began their march towards Stirling on the 7th of December, and the Glasgow regiment, of 600 men, commanded by the Earl of Home, joined them at Stirling on the 12th.

Several more companies were preparing to follow, but General Blakeney, thinking the body of men he had sufficient to guard the passages of the Forth, desired Lord Home to let the Magistrates

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* See the Duke of Newcastle's Answer to Lord Milton's Letter. Appendix, No. 36.

† Amongst those who took arms for government about this time were some young men at Edinburgh, who formed themselves into a company, and chose for officers two of their own number, who had been privates in the College Company of Edinburgh Volunteers raised to defend the city; and upon that occasion had agreed to join the dragoons, and give battle to the rebels. When the company had chosen their officers, they applied to Lord Milton, and obtained an order from him to the store-master of the castle to deliver them arms. They had also places assigned them for exercise, under cover, or without cover, as the weather served, for it was then about the middle of November.

of Glasgow know, that it was not necessary to send any more men to Stirling.

Another small army had been assembling for some time in the north of Scotland under the command of Lord Loudon, who, on the 14th of October, had arrived at Inverness in the Saltash sloop of war, with some arms, ammunition, and money. Soon after his arrival he was joined by the officers and men of his own regiment, who, with the Independent Companies formerly mentioned, amounted, about the middle of November, to more than 2000 men. The sum of money brought by Lord Loudon was not sufficient to subsist the troops under his command; but the credit and influence of the President supplied what was wanting, and the town of Inverness became the head-quarters for those who took arms for government in the north of Scotland.

Meanwhile several gentlemen of Aberdeenshire, Angus, the Mearns, and other places in the low country of the north, were raising men for the service of Charles.

Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon, raised a regiment of two battalions, one of which was commanded by Gordon of Abbachie, and the other by Moir of Stonywood.

Lord John Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth, had arrived at Montrose, as has been formerly mentioned, with a body of troops in the ser-

vice of France, consisting of his own regiment, the Royal Scots, of the piquets of six Irish regiments, with Fitzjames's regiment of horse (so called from the Duke of Berwick, natural son of James the Second, who had been their colonel.) But Lord John Drummond's account of the forces with which he landed, contained in a letter of his to Lord Fortrose,* which has been preserved, is certainly exaggerated; for though Fitzjames's regiment of horse embarked with him, so many transports of this embarkation were taken by the English cruizers in their way to Scotland, or obliged to return to Dunkirk whence they came, that the regiment of horse landed very incomplete, and never shewed more than two troops, 50 men each troop.

Soon after Lord John Drummond landed in Scotland, he sent General Stapleton with the Irish piquets and part of his own regiment, to join Lord Strathallan at Perth; the other part of his regiment he sent to join Lord Lewis Gordon, who had fixed his head-quarters at Aberdeen; and kept parties moving about in the adjacent country to raise men and collect money, according to a rate or tax which he had imposed upon the proprietors of land to furnish him with one able-bodied man,

* Appendix, No. 35.

or five pounds Sterling for every 100 pounds Scots of valued rent.

To protect the funds of government, and prevent the levy of this arbitrary imposition, Lord Loudon sent Macleod of Macleod from Inverness with 450 of his own men (whom he had brought from the Isle of Skye,) and 200 of Monroes, commanded by Munro of Culcairn, to Inverury, which is only twelve computed miles from Aberdeen.

Lord Lewis Gordon, informed that Macleod was so near him, with a force inferior to his, marched his own regiment, and all the men he had of Lord John Drummond's regiment, with a battalion of 300 Farquharsons, commanded by Farquharson of Monaltry, to attack Macleod at Inverury.

It was late before Lord Lewis reached the place; but Macleod's men, though they did not expect the attack, and were partly surprised, had time to put themselves in order to receive the enemy. It was moon-light when the action began, and the firing continued for some time on both sides; but when Lord John Drummond's soldiers and the Farquharsons advanced to close with their enemies, Macleod's men did not stand the charge, but left the field, and escaped as they could.

In this conflict not many men on either side were killed, but 41 of Macleod's party were taken prisoners, among whom were several Lowcountry

gentlemen of consideration who had joined Macleod.

Soon after the skirmish at Inverury, which happened on the 23d of December, Lord Lewis Gordon marched his men to join the forces at Perth, which was the place of general rendezvous.

The number of troops there was continually fluctuating, but at last amounted to 4000 men.

They consisted of the clans that had come to Perth after Charles had left Edinburgh, that is, of the Macintoshes, the Frazers, the Mackenzies, (that part of them who were attached to Charles) and the Farquharsons: of the recruits sent from the Highlands to the clan regiments that had marched to England with Charles: of the regiments and companies raised by Lord Lewis Gordon, Sir James Kinloch, and others in the Low-country of the north: of the piquets of the Irish regiments in the service of France, commanded by General Stapleton; and of the royal Scots, whose colonel, Lord John Drummond, called himself Commander-in-chief of his most Christian Majesty's forces in Scotland.

This heterogeneous army of Highlanders and Lowlanders, of Irish, Scotch, and French, had quarrelled about an order sent from Carlisle by Charles to Lord Strathallan at Perth, to march with all his forces, and follow the army into England.

This order Lord Strathallan's council of officers judged it was not expedient to obey.

Maclachlan of Maclachlan, who brought the order, and all the Highland officers, were provoked at this act of disobedience. They caballed together, and resolved to follow their Prince and their countrymen. But it was not easy for them to execute this resolution, as Lord Strathallan was in possession of the money, arms, ammunition, and stores.

The Highlanders had no money, and some of them who came last from the Highlands wanted arms.

The Commander-in-chief, Lord Strathallan, was supported by all the Lowcountry men, and the French and Irish.

The Highlanders persisted in their resolution, and formed several projects of getting at the money. Both parties were sufficiently violent, and had no reason either of them to think the other very scrupulous. They were ready to proceed to the last extremities, and a battle seemed inevitable, when Rollo of Powhouse arrived at Perth, with an order from Charles (dated Dumfries) to Lord Strathallan, to hold himself and his forces in readiness to join the army, which was now marching to Glasgow, from whence he should receive further orders.

This order removed the cause of quarrel, and put an end to the difference.

There was nothing to prevent or obstruct the junction of the two armies; for as soon as it was certainly known that the Highland army had crossed the river Esk, and was marching towards Glasgow, the King's troops left Stirling, and marched to Edinburgh, where they were joined by the Glasgow regiment next day, which was the 24th of December.

From the time that the Highlanders crossed the river Esk, in their retreat from England, the King's servants at Edinburgh, both civil and military, not knowing what course the rebels intended to take, were extremely perplexed; and, forming hypothetical resolutions, gave out what was most encouraging.

On the 29th of December a paper was read in the churches, to acquaint the people of Edinburgh, that it had been resolved, in a Council of War, to defend the city against the rebels.

Next day a great number of able-bodied men were brought in from the neighbouring parishes, and paraded in arms upon the High Street. Every parish marched by itself, and a good many of the parishes had their minister marching along with them.

As the Glasgow and Edinburgh regiments were not much better trained than the Militia (so they were called) of the country parishes, notwithstanding the paper read from the pulpit, the generality

of people believed, that if the Highland army approached Edinburgh, the King's troops would leave the town and retreat to Berwick.

About this time notice came to the King's servants at Edinburgh, that all the regiments of British infantry in that army, commanded by General Wade, (which had been marching backwards and forwards by the east road, while the rebels were advancing and retreating by the west road) were put under the command of General Hawley, and ordered to march from Newcastle to Edinburgh, where they were to be joined by part of that army which had been commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. As the Highlanders remained seven or eight days at Glasgow, the apprehension of a visit from them abated, but did not cease altogether till the 2d of January, when the first division of the King's troops, consisting of two regiments of foot, arrived at Edinburgh. This division was followed, day after day, by several divisions of the same strength. On the day that the first division arrived, the rebels left Glasgow, and began their march towards Stirling in two divisions: one division, led by Charles, marched by Kilsyth, where they stayed the first night: the other division, under the command of Lord George Murray, went by Cumbernauld. Next day their army marched on towards Stirling. When they came near the town, Charles took up his quarters in the house of Ban-

nockburn, and his men were cantoned in the neighbouring villages. Lord George Murray, with the division under his command, in which were most of the clan regiments, occupied the town of Falkirk, as the advanced post of their army. In a day or two the rebels invested the town of Stirling, and erecting a battery of cannon within musket shot, summoned the Magistrates to surrender. As the town of Stirling was not fortified, and had not a garrison of regular troops, the Magistrates capitulated, and opened their gates. During this siege, if it may be called so, Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond marched with all their forces from Perth, and joined the army at Stirling, which, after the junction was made, amounted to somewhat more than 9000 men, the greatest number that Charles ever had under his command. Some battering cannon from France having arrived at Montrose in the winter, had been sent to Perth, and were now brought over the Forth, not without great difficulty, part of them at the Ford of the Frew, and part at Alloa. It was then resolved to undertake the siege of the Castle of Stirling, which was defended by General Blakeney and a good garrison. On the 10th of January the rebels broke ground before the Castle of Stirling, and that day Burrel's and Pultney's regiments arrived at Edinburgh, which made the number of twelve regiments of foot, most of which had served abroad. Several

other regiments were on their way to Scotland, but General Hawley* (who had come to Edinburgh on the 6th) thought the troops he had were sufficient to beat the rebels. Besides the twelve old regiments of foot, Gardner's and Hamilton's regiments of dragoons, with the Glasgow regiment of foot, were quartered in the neighbourhood of Edin-

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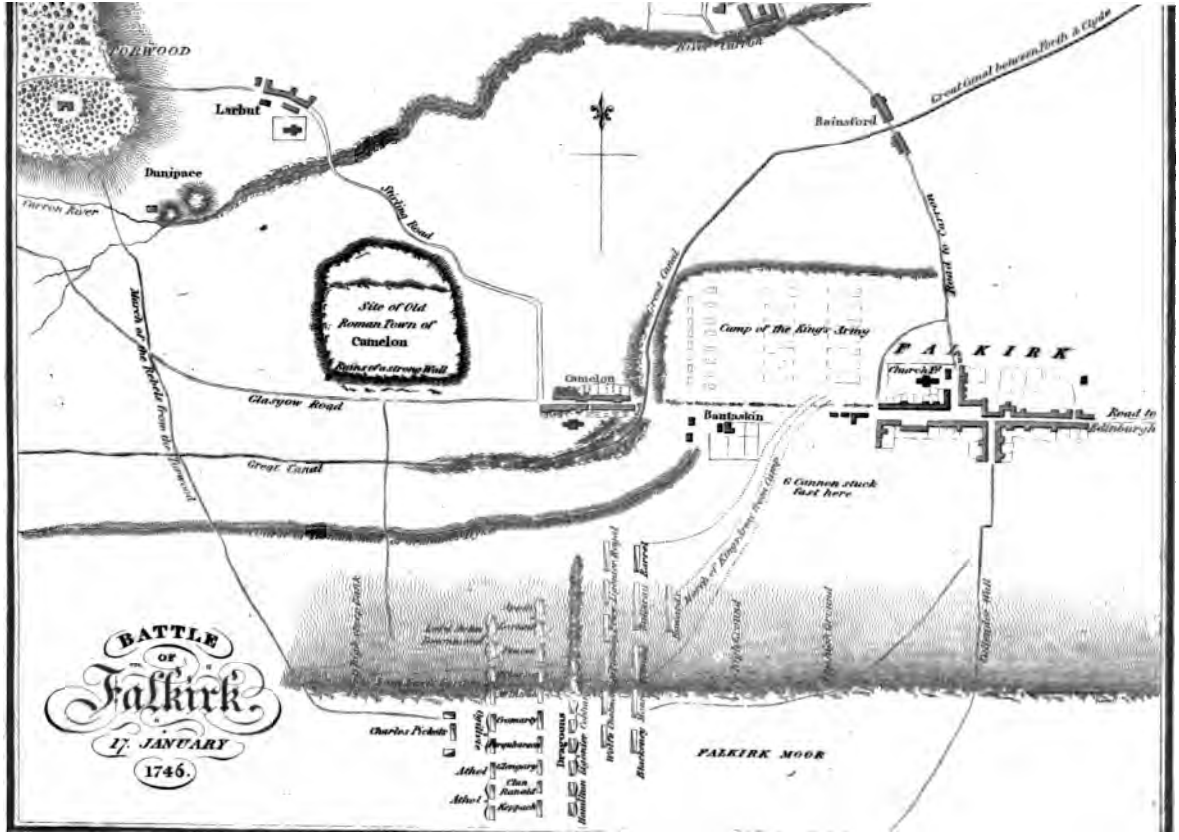
* Soon after General Hawley came to town, the lieutenant of the Edinburgh Company of Volunteers (author of this History) waited on General Hawley, and asked his permission for the volunteers to march with the King's army, which the General very readily granted; but next morning a message came from General Hawley, to desire that the same officer would call at the Abbey next day before twelve o'clock. When that officer came, General Hawley told him that he designed to employ the company of volunteers in a piece of service which he thought very essential. The officer asked if it was a piece of service where action might be expected. The General said, that there might be action, or there might not. The officer begged that the General would allow him to consult his friends, which he did, and returning to the General, told him that the volunteers, who had taken arms with a view to serve in the field, could not possibly undertake any other service, and hoped that General Hawley would not recall the permission he had given them to march with the army. "Certainly not," said the General, "and you may tell them so."

This piece of service in which General Hawley intended to employ the company of volunteers, was to send them to Glamis and other places in the north, that they might bring away the officers who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Preston, and sent to several places upon their parole.

burgh. On the 13th of January, six regiments of foot, together with the Glasgow regiment, and Gardner's and Hamilton's regiments of dragoons, marched towards Stirling, by Linlithgow and Borrowstouness, under the command of General Huske. Next day the other six regiments followed. Upon the 16th General Hawley left Edinburgh to join the army, and with all his troops collected, encamped in a field at the west end of Falkirk, which is only nine miles from Bannockburn, where Charles had fixed his head quarters, having all his troops about him, except 1000 men of the Lowcountry regiments, who were left at Stirling to carry on the siege of the castle, under the command of Gordon of Glenbucket. In the morning of the 17th, Cobham's regiment of dragoons, and 1000 Argyllshire Highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell (now Duke of Argyll,) joined the King's army. When these troops joined General Hawley, the two armies were but some miles distant from one another, for the Highland army was drawn up on Plean Muir, which is two miles to the east of Bannockburn. The Torwood, once a great wood, but now much decayed, lay between the two armies. The high road from Stirling to Falkirk by Bannockburn, passes through what was once the middle of the Torwood: upon that high road which is to the north of the greater part of the wood, as it now stands, a body of the rebels, both horse and


BATTLE OF Falkirk 17. JANUARY 1746.
FALKIRK
FALKIRK MOOR
Larbut
Dunipace
Site of Old Roman Town of Camelon
Camelon
Bantaskin
Bainsford
Camp of the King's Army
Glasgow Road
Stirling Road
Great Canal
Road to Edinburgh
6 Cannon stuck fast here
Charles Pickets

foot, made their appearance about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and moved about with standards and colours displayed. The parade they made was plainly seen from General Hawley's camp, and every body looked at them, expecting the enemy from that quarter. A little before one o'clock* two officers of the third regiment of foot climbed a tree near the camp, and fixed a telescope, with which they saw the Highland army marching towards Falkirk, by the south side of the Torwood. They immediately informed Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, their commanding officer, of what they had seen, who went to Callender House, where General Hawley was, and told him that the rebels were marching towards the King's army. The General said, that the men might put on their accoutrements, but there was no necessity for them to be under arms. Between one and two o'clock, some people who attended the army well mounted, and rode about to procure intelligence, came in upon the spur, and reported, that the rebel army was advancing by the south side of the Torwood; that they had seen them on the other side of the river Carron, which they were going to cross at Dunipace.†

* One of the officers is now Colonel Teesdale.

† Dunipace is about three miles and a half from Falkirk.

The Highlanders coming by Dunipace were evidently pointing towards Falkirk Moor, and the high ground on the left of the King's army. General Hawley not being come from Callender, this piece of intelligence alarmed the troops: one might hear the officers saying to one another, Where is the General? what shall be done? we have no orders. The commanding officers, in the meantime, formed their regiments upon the ground in the front of the camp. When General Hawley came, he ordered the three regiments of dragoons to march to the Moor, and take possession of the high ground between them and the rebels: he ordered the infantry to follow. At the very instant the regiments of foot began to march, the day was overcast; and by and by a storm of wind and rain beat directly in the face of the soldiers, who were marching up the hill with their bayonets fixed, and could not secure their pieces from the rain. The cavalry was a good way before the infantry, and for some time it seemed a sort of race between the Highlanders and the dragoons, which of them should get first to the top of the hill. The rebel army was marching in two columns about 200 paces asunder. The column which was to the south-west, and marched on the right of the other, consisted of all the Lowcountry regiments, of the Maclachlans, with the Athol brigade, and Lord John Drummond's regiment. The column to the north-

east consisted of the clan regiments which had been in England, and of the recruits sent up to them from the Highlands, with those clans formerly mentioned, who had been at Perth great part of the winter. The three Macdonald regiments, who were at the head of this column to the north, got first to the top of the hill, and, taking their ground where they had a morass upon their right flank, turned their back to the storm. The dragoons, who had not been able to prevent the Highlanders from gaining the high ground, halted at some distance from the Macdonalds, who were standing still to give time to those regiments that made part of the column with them, to form on their left; and to the south-west column to form the second line. In a short time their columns were reduced into two lines: the first line consisted altogether of Highlanders. The three Macdonald regiments, Keppoch, Clanronald, and Glengary, had the right, standing in the order they are mentioned: next to the Macdonalds of Glengary stood a small battalion of Farquharsons.* On the left of

* The Farquharsons had two regiments in the rebel army; for, like the Macdonalds, they had more than one chief, Farquharson of Invercauld. One of their chiefs was a Captain of foot in the King's army, but his clan, commanded by Farquhar-

the Farquharsons were the Mackenzies, the Macintoshes, the Macphersons, the Frazers, the Camerons, and the Stuarts. The second line consisted of the Athol brigade, which had the right; of Lord Ogilvie's regiment and Lord Lewis Gordon's (each of them two battalions;) of the Maclachlans, and Lord John Drummond's regiment.

Charles placed himself in the rear of the second line with the Irish piquets, and some horse,* as a body of reserve.

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son of Monaltry, one of the chieftains, made part of the rebel army. Farquharson of Bumarrel, with his men, was in the first line at the battle of Falkirk. Monaltry, with his regiment of Farquharsons, escorted the cannon of the rebel army, and was not in the action.

* As to the position of their cavalry, the rebel officers gave different accounts of it. Some of them said, that the two troops of horse-guards, and Pistligo's horse, were posted between the first and second line. Other officers said, that most of the horse were on the flanks of their second line, or rather behind it. Lord George Murray, in his account of the battle of Falkirk, says, that Lord Elcho, with his troop of horse-guards, and some other horse, were drawn up behind the Athol brigade, which, having a morass on its right, there was not room for the horse to form between the brigade and the morass. Lord John Drummond, who commanded the body of troops that made the feint, remained with them upon the high road till the Highlanders passed the Carron; he then crossed over, followed the army, and joined Charles, who was with the reserve.

The infantry of the King's army was also formed in two lines, with a body of reserve. The first line consisted of a battalion of the Royal, of the regiments of Wolfe, Cholmondeley, Pultney, Price, and Ligonier. The Royal had the right of the first line, and Wolfe's regiment the left. The second line consisted of Burrel's regiment, Blakeney's, Munro's, Battereau's, and Fleming's: Burrel's regiment had the right of this line, and Blakeney's the left. Howard's regiment formed a body of reserve. The dragoons that were advanced before the infantry, and a good way to their left, having large intervals between their squadrons, extended so far that they covered a great part of the first line of the rebel army, for the left of the dragoons was opposite to Keppoch's regiment, and their right to the centre of Lord Lovat's, which was the third regiment from the left of the rebels. Behind the greater part of this body of cavalry there was no infantry but the Glasgow regiment, which, being newly levied, was not allowed to have a place either in the first or second line, but stood by itself near some cottages behind the left of the dragoons. Most of the regiments of foot in the King's army were standing on the declivity of the hill. More than one regiment both of the first and second line stood higher up, and on ground somewhat more plain and level. The Highlanders towards the left of their first line saw the foot of the

King's army; the Highlanders on the right of the first line saw no foot at all; for besides the great inequality of the ground, the storm of wind and rain continued, and the darkness increased so much, that nobody could see very far. To conclude this account of the field of battle, and the position of the regiments, there was a ravine or gully which separated the right of the King's army from the left of the rebels. This ravine began on the declivity of the hill, directly opposite to the centre of Lord Lovat's regiment, and went down due north, still deeper and wider, to the plain. The right of the King's army, standing on the east side of this ravine, outlined the left of the rebels by two regiments, and the right of the rebels outlined the left of the King's infantry much more. Neither army had any cannon with them; for the Highlanders had marched so fast, to get to the high ground before the dragoons, that they had left their field-pieces about a mile behind them. General Hawley's cannon were stuck fast at the bottom of the hill. The infantry of the King's army not being completely formed, (for several companies of Fleming's regiment were only coming up to take their place in the centre of the second line,) when General Hawley sent an order to Colonel Ligonier, who commanded the cavalry, to attack the rebels; Colonel Ligonier, with the three regiments of dragoons, advanced against the High-

landers, who at that very instant began to move towards the dragoons. Lord George Murray* was marching at the head of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, with his drawn sword in his hand, and his target on his arm. He let the dragoons come within ten or twelve paces of him, and then gave orders to fire. The Macdonalds of Keppoch began the fire, which ran down the line from them to Lord Lovat's regiment. This heavy fire repulsed the dragoons. Hamilton's and Ligonier's regiments wheeled about, and fled directly back: Cobham's regiment wheeled to the right, and went off between the two armies, receiving a good deal of fire as they passed the left of the rebels. When the dragoons were gone, Lord George Murray ordered the Macdonalds of Keppoch to keep their ranks, and stand firm. The same order was sent to the other two Macdonald regiments, but a great part of the men in these two regiments, with all the regiments to their left, (whose fire had repulsed

* Lord George Murray, from the place where he stood on the right of the first line, saw none of the infantry of the King's army; and he ordered Colonel Roy Stuart and Anderson (the guide at the battle of Preston) who were both on horseback, to go as near the dragoons as they could, and see if there was any foot behind them; they went very near the dragoons, and returning to Lord George Murray, told him they had not seen any infantry. Lord George immediately ordered his men to march and attack the dragoons.

the dragoons) immediately pursued. When they came near the foot of the King's army, some regiments of the first line gave them a fire: the rebels returned the fire, and throwing down their muskets, drew their swords and attacked the regiments in the left of the King's army, both in front and flank: all the regiments in the first line of the King's army gave way, as did most of the regiments of the second line. It seemed a total rout; and for some time General Hawley did not know that any one regiment of his army was standing;*

* General Hawley, when he sent the order to Colonel Ligonier to attack the rebels, was standing a little behind the three regiments of dragoons. When the dragoons were repulsed by the fire of the rebels; and most of the regiments of foot, attacked in front and flank, gave way, General Hawley, involved in a crowd of horse and foot, came to the Edinburgh company of volunteers, which, having marched up the hill in the rear of Fleming's regiment, was standing by itself, and had not begun to fly. The company was commanded by their lieutenant; for the captain, William Macghie, when the alarm came that the rebels were marching towards the King's army, had gone in quest of General Hawley, to know if he pleased to assign the company of volunteers any post, which they would do their utmost to maintain. The lieutenant knew General Hawley very well, having waited on him several times at Holyrood house, and asked if there were any regiments standing; where they were. The General made no answer to his questions, but pointing to a fold for cattle which was close by, called to him to get in there with his men. The disorder and confusion increased, and General Hawley rode down the hill.

but Burrel's regiment stood, and joined by part of two regiments of the first line (Price's and Ligonier's) moved to their left, till they came directly opposite to the Camerons and Stuarts, and began to fire upon them across the ravine. The Highlanders returned the fire, but the fire of the King's troops was so much superior, that the rebels, after losing a good many men, fell back a little, still keeping the high ground on their side of the ravine. The stand which these regiments made put a stop to the pursuit, and recalled the pursuers; who, when they heard so much fire behind them, turned back, and made what haste they could to the ground where they stood before the battle began, expecting to find their second line; but when they came there, the second line was not to be found. Most of the men in those regiments which stood behind the clans of the first line that attacked the foot of the King's army, seeing the wonderful success of that attack, crowded in after the pursuers, and followed the chase; but many of the men belonging to the regiments that were thinned in this manner, hearing the repeated fires given by the King's troops across the ravine, thought it was most likely that the Highland army would be defeated; and that the best thing they could do was to save themselves by leaving the field when they might: accordingly they did so, and went off to the westward. At this moment

the field of battle presented a spectacle seldom seen in war, whose great events Fortune is said to rule.* Part of the King's army, much the greater part, was flying to the eastward, and part of the rebel army was flying to the westward. Not one regiment of the second line of the rebels remained in its place; for the Athol brigade, being left almost alone on the right, marched up to the first line, and joined Lord George Murray where he stood with the Macdonalds of Keppoch. Between this body of men on the right of the first line, and the Camerons and Stuarts on the left (who had retreated a little from the fire of the troops across the ravine), there was a considerable space altogether void and empty, those men excepted who had returned from the chase, and were straggling about in great disorder and confusion, with nothing in their hands but their swords. By and by Lord George Murray with his men joined them, and Charles with the Irish piquets, and some other troops of the reserve, came up from the rear. The presence of Charles encouraged the Highlanders: he commended their valour; made them take up the muskets which lay thick upon the ground; and ordering them to follow him, led them to the brow of the hill. At the approach of so consider-

* In rebus bellicis maxime dominatur Fortuna.
TACITUS.

able a body of men, Cobham's regiment of dragoons, which, having always kept together, was coming up the hill again, turned back, and went down to the place where the regiments of foot were standing who had behaved so well, and retreating with them in good order, joined the rest of the army who had rallied on the ground in the front of their camp, where the Argyllshire Highlanders had been left by General Hawley, when he marched with his troops to meet the enemy. The storm of wind and rain continued as violent as ever: night was coming on; for the battle began a little before four o'clock.*. Before it grew quite dark,

* One of the Edinburgh company of volunteers pulled out his watch at the first fire, and said it wanted just ten minutes of four o'clock. The battle of Falkirk did not last very long. Several officers of the King's army, and some others who were taken prisoners, had frequent opportunities of conversing with the rebel officers, and they agreed in opinion, that the interval between the first fire and the retreat of Burrel's regiment did not exceed twenty minutes. Farquharson of Monaltry (who commanded the body of men that escorted the cannon of the rebels) was about a mile behind the army; when he heard the first fire, he left a small party of his men with the cannon, and with the rest marched on as fast as he could to join the army. In his way he met 200 or 300 men flying to the westward; he made them turn back and return with him to the field. When he came there, the firing had ceased; and he saw Burrel's regiment, with part of the two regiments of foot that had joined them, and Cobham's regiment of dragoons, retreating to the camp.

General Hawley gave orders to set fire to the tents, and marching his army through the town of Falkirk, retreated to Linlithgow, leaving behind him seven pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of provision, ammunition, and baggage. While the tents were burning, two officers of the rebel army, Mr Drummond, eldest son of Lord Strathallan, and Mr Oliphant, younger of Gask, came down from the hill to the town of Falkirk (disguised like peasants), to procure intelligence; and returning to their friends, assured them that the King's army had left Falkirk, and was gone towards Linlithgow. A strong body of Highlanders, commanded by Lord George Murray, immediately took possession of the town of Falkirk.

Every person who reads this account, or any other account of the battle of Falkirk, will be apt to think it very strange, that General Hawley should order * 700 or 800 dragoons to attack 8000

* The order sent to Colonel Ligonier was carried by Mr Stuart Mackenzie, Lord Bute's brother, (afterwards Lord Privy Seal for Scotland,) who acted that day as aid-de-camp to General Hawley. The Colonel and Mr Mackenzie were intimate friends; and when the colonel received General Hawley's order, he said it was the most extraordinary order that ever was given. The author of this History having frequently conversed with Mr Mackenzie concerning the battle of Falkirk, shewed him, many years after the rebellion, the account which is here given of what passed between the colonel and him,

foot drawn up in two lines. It is said, and generally believed, that General Hawley, when he heard that the Highlanders were about to cross the Carron at Dunipace, did not think they were coming to attack his army, but imagined that they were going to give him the slip, and march back to England: that in this conceit he ordered his dragoons and foot to march up the hill, intercept the rebels, and force them to come to an action. Hence the conflict happened upon a piece of ground which he had never viewed, and was a field of battle exceedingly disadvantageous to his troops. As for the order given to the officer who commanded the dragoons to attack the whole Highland army, it is proper to inform the reader, that General Hawley had been Major of Evans's dragoons at the battle of Sheriffmuir, where that regiment, with the Scots Greys, led by the Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, getting over a morass (which the intense frost of one night had rendered passable,) attacked * the

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when he delivered General Hawley's order. Mr Mackenzie hesitated a little, and said, he was not sure whether or no he had told Mr Home, that Colonel Ligonier said it was the most extraordinary order that ever was given; but he was very sure the colonel looked as if he thought so.

* The battle of Sheriffmuir was fought on the 13th of November, O. S. in the year 1715, and the Highlanders thought the flank of their army secure.

flank of the rebel army, rode down, and drove off the field several regiments of Highlanders.

When the news of the battle of Preston came to the army in Flanders, General Hawley reprobated the conduct of Mr Cope, and said in a company of officers, "that *he* knew the Highlanders; they were good militia, but he was certain that they could not stand against a charge of dragoons who attacked them well." Lieutenant-Colonel Hepburn * was one of the company of officers that heard this speech of General Hawley's, and he allows his name to be mentioned with this anecdote, which accounts for the order given to Colonel Ligonier.

In this ill-conducted battle, many brave officers of the King's army fell.†

As Edinburgh is but twenty-four miles from Fal-

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* Lieutenant-Colonel of the 6th regiment of dragoons, when he retired from the service.

† One colonel, (Sir Robert Monro,) three lieutenant-colonels, Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, (of the regiment late Gardner's,) Lieutenant-Colonel Bigger of Monro's regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Powell of Cholmondeley's; five captains of Wolfe's, and one lieutenant; four captains of Blakeney's and two lieutenants, were killed, with about 300 or 400 private men.

The Highlanders acknowledged that their army lost three captains and four subalterns, with forty men killed, and twice as many wounded.

kirk, several spectators who had made haste from the field, and some dragoons who had fled upon the spur of fear, reached Edinburgh before nine o'clock at night, and brought dreadful accounts of what they had seen, adding many circumstances which they had not seen. Next day the army came to Edinburgh about four o'clock in the afternoon: their appearance disproved the report of those fugitives who had said that the army was totally routed and dispersed; but their appearance proved also, that the affair of Falkirk (as some people called it) was a bad affair.

At no time, from the beginning to the end of the Rebellion, were the real friends to the Constitution of their country more dejected, or more apprehensive, than they were when they saw the troops return from Falkirk, who had marched against the rebels a few days before, as they thought to certain victory.

These troops, they sadly reflected, were not the raw soldiers of General Cope's army, who had never seen an enemy till they met the Highlanders at Preston, but they were the veteran troops of Britain, who had fought the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy.

On the other hand, the rebels were not so much elated as some people thought they had reason to be with their victory. Their generals blamed one another, that it was not so complete as it might

have been, when so many circumstances concurred in their favour. The advantage of ground, the surprise, the storm, General Hawley's order to the dragoons to attack a whole army, the acknowledged misbehaviour of some regiments, were circumstances not likely to be ever combined again.

Lord George Murray said, that the victory would have been complete, if Lord John Drummond (who should have commanded on the left) had been in his place; that he might have ordered some regiments from the second line to face the regiments on the right of the King's army, who outlined the left of the Highlanders. If that had been done, Lord George Murray maintained that none of the foot could have escaped, but must all have been killed or taken.

Lord John Drummond and others blamed Lord George Murray for preventing the Macdonalds of Keppoch, and a good many men of the other two Macdonald regiments, from advancing with the rest of the Highlanders when they attacked the foot. Sullivan, adjutant-general, was also blamed for keeping out of harm's way at the battle of Falkirk; none of the officers of the first line of the Highland army saw him till the action was over, or any other general except Lord George Murray.

Altercation, contention, and animosity, prevailed in this irregular and undisciplined army, which it was not an easy matter to command.

Charles, with his army, remained at Falkirk the night after the battle, without attempting to pursue the King's troops in their retreat to Linlithgow. Next day he returned to his quarters at Bannockburn; after having seen a tumult among the Highlanders.

Lord Kilmarnock, in the morning of the 18th, came to Falkirk, which is within half a mile of his house at Callender, (where he passed the night,) bringing with him a party of his men to guard some prisoners who had been taken in the retreat, and carried to Callender. Lord Kilmarnock left the prisoners and their guard standing in the street, just before the house where Charles lodged, and going up stairs, presented to Charles a list of his prisoners, who were the two officers * and some

* William Macghie, Captain of the Edinburgh company of volunteers, having gone in quest of General Hawley, as has been mentioned, could not find the General, and just before the battle began, he joined Blakeney's regiment, which was one of the regiments that suffered most, and being driven from the field of battle, rallied with the other regiments on the ground before their camp. There Mr Macghie found the lieutenant and several private men of his company, with whom he left Falkirk, soon after the King's troops quitted that town; and falling still more behind the army in their march to Linlithgow, he with his lieutenant and four private men were made prisoners by the rebels. The private men were Thomas Barrow, student of physic at the University of Edinburgh; Robert Dou-

private men of the company of volunteers mentioned in the account of the battle. Charles opened the window to look at the prisoners, and stood for some time with the list in his hand, asking questions (as they thought) about them, of Lord Kilmarnock.

Meanwhile a soldier, in the uniform of one of the King's regiments, made his appearance in the street of Falkirk, which was full of Highlanders: he was armed with a musket and bayonet, and had a black cockade in his hat. When the volunteers saw a soldier with his firelock in his hand coming towards Charles, they were amazed, and fancied a thousand things; they expected every moment to hear a shot. Charles observing that the volunteers (who were within a few yards of him) looked all one way, turned his head that way too: he seemed surprised; and calling Lord Kilmarnock, pointed to the soldier. Lord Kilmarnock came down stairs immediately: when he got to the street, the soldier was just opposite to the window where Charles stood. Kilmarnock came up to the fellow, struck his hat off his head, and set his foot on the black

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glas, also student of physic; Robert Alexander, son of Mr Alexander, afterwards Provost of Edinburgh; and Neil Macvicar, student of law, son to the minister of Isla. It seems proper to mention, in this manner, the volunteers who were taken prisoners, as there will be occasion to say more of them hereafter.

cockade. At that instant a Highlander came running from the other side of the street, laid hands on Lord Kilmarnock, and pushed him back. Kilmarnock pulled out a pistol, and presented it at the Highlander's head: the Highlander drew his dirk, and held it close to Kilmarnock's breast. In this posture they stood about half a minute, when a crowd of Highlanders rushed in, and drove away Lord Kilmarnock. The man with the dirk in his hand took up the hat, put it upon the soldier's head, and the Highlanders marched off with him in triumph.

This piece of dumb shew, of which they understood nothing, perplexed the volunteers. They expressed their astonishment to a Highland officer who stood near them; and entreated him to explain the meaning of what they had seen. He told them that the soldier in the uniform of the royal was a Cameron;—"Yesterday," said he, "when your army was defeated, he joined his clan; the Camerons received him with great joy, and told him that he should wear his arms, his clothes, and every thing else, till he was provided with other clothes and other arms. The Highlander who first interposed, and drew his dirk on Lord Kilmarnock, is the soldier's brother; the crowd who rushed in are the Camerons, many of them his near relations; and, in my opinion," continued the officer, "no colonel nor general in the Prince's

army can take that cockade* out of his hat, except Lochiel himself."

When Charles, with his guards, returned to Bannockburn, Lord George Murray, with the Highland regiments, remained at Falkirk; and the Duke of Perth, with the Lowcountry regiments, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish piquets, returned to Stirling to carry on the siege of the castle, which proceeded very slowly for want of engineers and regular troops; and the few men of that description which the Duke of Perth had with him, found the service very hard, their works being levelled, and their batteries demolished, by the superior fire of the castle.

During this siege, the rebels sent most of the prisoners from Stirling to the Castle of Doune, amongst whom were the officers and some private men of the Edinburgh company of volunteers. When General Hawley came to Edinburgh, his army was reinforced by two regiments of foot,† the 25th and 21st, that had served abroad, and

* This behaviour of the Highlanders to Lord Kilmarnock, in presence of Charles, occasioned that investigation into Clanship, made by the Author of this History, which enabled him to write that account of the manners of the Highlanders which is contained in the Introduction.

† The 25th arrived at Edinburgh on the 17th, before the news of the battle came to town. The 21st (the Scots Fusileers) arrived at Musselburgh on the 18th.

behaved remarkably well on every occasion; notwithstanding that reinforcement, which the quality of the troops rendered considerable, the army remained at Edinburgh till the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland,* who came to the Palace of Holyrood-house, on Thursday the 30th of January, at three o'clock in the morning.

That day, he carefully inspected the condition of the troops; and, having raised the spirits of the men by his presence, (for the soldiers wished nothing so much as to have him for their commander instead of General Hawley,†) he marched his army next day towards the enemy. It was not expected that he would march so soon; and the confidence which the Duke shewed, by marching immediately against the Highlanders, had no small effect in animating his troops, and inspiring them with the same confidence which their General had of victory.

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* On the 30th of January, the Duke of Cumberland came to Edinburgh; on the 31st he marched his army to Linlithgow: on the 1st of February, the Duke's army was marching to Falkirk, when intelligence came that the rebels had left Stirling, and retreated to the Highlands.

† When General Hawley returned to Edinburgh with his army, he ordered several officers and soldiers to be tried for bad behaviour at the battle of Falkirk: two or three soldiers were condemned to be shot, and more than one officer were cashiered.—See Lord Milton's letter written to General Hawley upon this occasion. Appendix, No. 38.

The army, with which the Duke marched from Edinburgh, consisted of fourteen battalions of foot, with two regiments of dragoons, Lord Cobham's and Lord Mark Ker's. Besides the regular troops, there were 1000 Argyllshire Highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell.* The Duke of Cumberland, with his army, marched from Edinburgh in two columns. One column of eight battalions was commanded by the Duke himself, and marching to Linlithgow, quartered there. The other column, consisting of six battalions, was commanded by General Huske, and marching to Borrowstounness, took up their quarters in that town. The dragoons and Argyllshire men were cantoned in the adjacent villages.

When the Duke of Cumberland, with his division, came to Linlithgow, Charles was at the house of Bannockburn, with a great part of his troops quartered in the town of Stirling and the neighbouring villages. Lord George Murray, with the clan regiments under his command, was at Falkirk.

A battle seemed inevitable; and it was expected that the two armies would meet again near the place where they had fought before. Early next morning, intelligence came to Linlithgow that Lord George Murray, with the men under his

* Afterwards Duke of Argyll.

command, had retreated from Falkirk to the Torwood, where it was thought that, with all his forces united, Charles meant to make a stand.

As the Duke's army was marching towards Falkirk, the foremost scouts brought in some stragglers, who said that the whole army of the rebels was going off to the westward.

Soon after this information, two great explosions, like the blowing up of magazines, were heard; and the Duke immediately detached the Argyllshire Highlanders, and all his dragoons, under the command of General Mordaunt, to pursue the enemy. But General Mordaunt did not overtake the rebels, who, having raised the siege of Stirling Castle, spiked their heavy cannon, and blown up their magazines, went off in great disorder and confusion, crossing the river Forth at the ford of the Frew. Such was the second retreat, or rather flight, of the rebel army before the King's troops, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland.

The resolution to retreat was a sudden resolution. It had been determined to fight the King's army; and all the sick and wounded men, with the women, were sent to Dunblane. On the 28th, Lord George Murray came to Bannockburn, and shewed Charles a plan which he had drawn of the battle to be fought. Charles was extremely pleased with it, and made several corrections with his own hand. That night Charles was unusually gay,

and sat up very late. Next morning Lord George Murray's aid-de-camp came to Bannockburn with a packet from Lord George. Charles was in bed, and John Hay, who was always about him, and sometimes acted as secretary, would not allow him to be called. When he got up, Hay went into his room with the packet. Charles opened it, and found a paper,* signed by Lord George Murray, and all the chiefs who were with him at Falkirk, advising a retreat to the north, which they said was absolutely necessary, as the Duke of Cumberland's army had been reinforced since the battle, and the number of the Highland army was much diminished; for besides the loss of men at the siege of Stirling Castle, a great many Highlanders (particularly the Macdonalds† of Glengary) had gone home to the Highlands, and were not returned. When Charles read this paper, he struck his head against the wall till he staggered, and exclaimed against Lord George Murray, to whose management he imputed the remonstrance of the chiefs. The day on which the Highlanders left Stirling, General Mordaunt, with his troops, took

* This paper has been preserved. See Appendix, No. 39.

† The Macdonalds of Glengary had lost their colonel, Angus Macdonald, (the second son to their chief,) who was killed in the street of Falkirk, a day or two after the battle, by the accidental going off of a piece.

possession of that town, and next day the Duke of Cumberland entered Stirling; where he immediately gave orders for repairing the bridge, one arch of which had been cut down in the month of December, when General Blakeney understood that the rebels were assembling at Perth in such numbers, as made it convenient for him to interrupt the communication between Perth and Stirling.

The same day the Duke of Cumberland's army marched from Edinburgh to attack the rebels, the officers and men of the Edinburgh company of volunteers, taken prisoners on the 17th, made their escape from the Castle of Doune, to which they, with many other prisoners, had been sent on the 25th. The Castle of Doune, built by Murdo, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, during the captivity of James the First, was in a most ruinous condition when the volunteers came there. The place of their abode was a large ghastly room, the highest part of the castle, and next the battlements. In one end of this room there were two small vaults or cells, in one of which the volunteers* passed the night, with three other persons,

* There were only five volunteers, officers included; for Robert Alexander, one of the volunteers taken prisoner in the retreat, was kept at Stirling, as the rebels expected that his father, one of the most opulent citizens in Edinburgh, would pay a ransom of 5000*l.* to have him set at liberty.

one of whom was Mr John Witherspoon, then a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, afterwards President of the College of Jersey in America; the other two were citizens of Aberdeen, who had been taken up in the north country as spies, and threatened to be hanged by the rebels. In the other cell were also eight persons, who, like Mr Witherspoon, had come to Falkirk from curiosity to see a battle, and were taken prisoners in the general sweep which the rebels made after the battle.

Each of the cells had a door which might be made fast by those on the inside when they went to sleep, having straw to lie upon, and blankets to cover them, which they had purchased from some people in the village of Doune.

From this account of the condition of the prisoners in the castle of Doune, it may be taken for granted, that when the volunteers were brought there, they thought of nothing but how to get away. Their first scheme was to establish a communication with the other prisoners, whose number they knew was considerable; for there were above 100 soldiers of the king's army, a good many Argyllshire men, and some men of the Glasgow regiment, so that the whole number of prisoners, who had carried arms, might amount to 150 men.

To guard the prisoners, there was a party of twenty or twenty-five Highlanders, relieved every day from a detachment of the rebel army quartered at the village of Doune.

A centinel, who stood two or three paces from the door of the room where the volunteers were lodged, allowed any of them that pleased to go up to the battlements, which were above seventy feet high. From the battlements, one of the volunteers, with no small difficulty, made his way to the place where the soldiers and other prisoners were confined, but as there was not one officer with them he returned the way he went, and told his companions that their scheme of escaping by force was at an end. Another of the volunteers instantly proposed, that they should make a rope of the blankets they had, by which they might descend from the battlements to the ground, on the west side of the castle, where there was no centinel.

The proposal was agreed to, and being communicated to the three prisoners who lodged in the cell with them, the two men from Aberdeen agreed to join the volunteers in their attempt to escape. Mr Witherspoon said that he would go to the battlements and see what happened; that if they succeeded, he would probably follow their example.

To prevent suspicion of their design, some of the volunteers always kept company with the other persons in the great room, which was common to

all, whilst the rest of them, barring the door of their cell, were at work till they finished the rope, of which they resolved to make use the very night it was completed. The two officers then claimed it as their right to be the first that should hazard themselves, and prove the strength of the rope; but that claim was objected to; and all the volunteers, with the two men taken up as spies, drew lots for the order in which they should descend. The captain shewed * number one, the lieutenant drew number two,

When every thing was adjusted, they went up to the battlements, fastened the rope, and about one o'clock in the morning began to descend. The two officers, with Robert Douglas, and one of the men taken up as spies, got down very well, but the fifth man, one of the spies, who was very tall and big, coming down in a hurry, the rope broke with him just as his feet touched the ground. The lieutenant standing by the wall of the castle, called to the volunteer †, whose turn it was to come down

* Captain Macghie had drawn number four, but changed it with one of the men from Aberdeen, who had drawn number one.

† The name of this volunteer was Thomas Barrow (the only Englishman in the company) who, a minute or two before they began to descend, had told the lieutenant that if the rope should break after the officers and his friend Douglas had got down, (whose numbers were prior to his,) he would rather die

next, not to attempt it; for that twenty or thirty feet were broken off from the rope. Notwithstanding this warning, which he heard distinctly, he put himself upon the rope, and coming down as far as it lasted, let go his hold: his friend Douglas and the lieutenant, (who were both of them above the middle size,) as soon as they saw him upon the rope (for it was moon-light) put themselves under him, to break his fall, which in part they did; but falling from so great a height, he brought them both to the ground, dislocated one of his ankles, and broke several of his ribs. In this extremity the lieutenant raised him from the ground, and taking him upon his back, for he was slender and not very tall, carried him towards the road which led to Alloa. When the Lieutenant was not able to go any farther with his burthen, other two of the company holding each of them one of Mr Barrow's arms, helped him to hop along upon one leg. In this manner they went on very slowly a mile or so; but thinking that, at the rate they proceeded, they would certainly be overtaken, they resolved to call at the first house they should come to. When they came to a house, they found a friend, for the landlord, who rented a small farm, was a

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than be left alone among the barbarians; and was resolved to follow his friends at all hazards.

whig, and as soon as he knew who they were, ordered one of his sons to bring a horse from the stable, take the lame gentleman behind him, and go as far as his assistance was necessary. Thus equipped, they went on by Alloa to Tullyallan, a village near the sea, where they hired a boat to carry them off to the Vulture sloop-of-war, which was lying at anchor in the Frith of Forth. Captain Falconer of the Vulture received them very kindly, and gave them his barge to carry them to Queensferry. In their way to that place, they saw some regiments of General Huske's division marching between Hopetoun House and Borrowstounness.

When the volunteers made their escape in this manner, Neil Macvicar, one of them, was left in the Castle of Doune, for he had drawn the last number, and standing upon the battlements, saw the disaster of his friends. He concluded that the rope was not strong enough, and pulling it up, carried it to the cell, where there were some blankets with which he completed the rope, beginning at the place where it had given way, and adding a good deal to its thickness, he went up to the battlements, fastened the rope, and put himself upon it. He came down very well, till he reached that part of the rope where he had added so much to its thickness that his hand could not grasp it, and fall-

ing from the same height that Mr Barrow had done, but having nobody to break his fall, was so grievously hurt, bruised, and maimed, that he never recovered, but languished and died soon afterwards at the house of his father, who was a clergyman in the island of Isla.

CHAPTER IX.

The Duke of Cumberland pursues the Rebels—Halts at Perth—Sends several Detachments of his Army to different Places.—The Prince of Hesse, with a Body of his Troops, escorted by Ships of War, arrives in the Frith of Forth.—The Duke of Cumberland comes from Perth to visit the Prince of Hesse.—A Council of War at Edinburgh.—The Duke of Cumberland returns to Perth—Sends several Regiments to Dundee—Marches himself with the Main Body of his Army to Aberdeen—Halts there some time.—Charles, with a few Men at Moy, near Inverness.—An attempt made by Lord Loudon to seize him.—The Attempt defeated. Charles assembles his Men—Marches to Inverness.—Lord Loudon retreats to Ross-shire.—Charles besieges the Castle of Inverness.—The Castle surrenders.—Various Expeditions of the Rebels while the Duke's Army lay at Aberdeen.—Account of these Expeditions.—An Order from Charles to the Commanding Officers to desist from them, and join him at Inverness.

ON the 4th of February, the Duke of Cumberland, with his army, marched along the bridge of Stirling, on his way to Dunblane and Crieff, following the route of the Highlanders, who had passed through these towns. At Crieff the rebel army had

separated: one division, consisting of the Western Highlanders, under the command of Charles, marched north by the Highland road; the other division, in which there were several clans, and all the Lowcountry regiments, under the command of Lord George Murray, marched by the coast road, which leads through Montrose and Aberdeen to Inverness. A few Highlanders took a middle road by Braemar, which led to their own part of the country.

From Crieff the Duke of Cumberland proceeded to Perth, where his army halted for some days, and the Duke, having sent a detachment of 500 men to the Castle of Blair, and another detachment of 200 men to Castle Menzies, returned to Edinburgh to visit the Prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, who, with about 5000 men in thirty-six transports, escorted by four ships of war, arrived in the Road of Leith on the 8th of February.

The Duke of Cumberland stayed only one night at Edinburgh, where his Royal Highness and the Prince of Hesse held a Council of War to determine their future operations. In this Council of War, which was held at Lord Milton's, all the Generals gave it as their opinion, that the war was at an end; and that his Royal Highness had nothing to do but to give his orders to the officers under him to march into the Highlands as soon as the

season would permit, and ferret the rebels out of their strongholds and fastnesses; for it was evident, they said, that the rebels would never risk a battle against an army commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. His Royal Highness having heard the general officers, desired to know what Lord Milton thought of the state of affairs, who excused himself from giving his opinion in a Council of War, as he was not a military man. The Duke insisted upon hearing Lord Milton's opinion, who knew the country of the Highlands, and the Highlanders, better than any one present. Lord Milton then said, that he wished he might be mistaken in the opinion he was called upon to give; for his knowledge of the Highlands and the Highlanders inclined him to think that the rebellion was not at an end; that as the King's troops could not follow the Highlanders through their wild and unaccommodated country in the winter season, he was persuaded that the rebels, divided and scattered as they were, would unite again, and risk a battle before they gave up the cause.

The day after this Council of War, the Duke of Cumberland returned to Perth, where he remained for some days, sent forward three regiments of foot and a regiment of dragoons to Dundee; and on the 20th of February, the main body of the army, commanded by the Duke himself, began their march to the northward by the coast road, and,

halting both at Dundee and Montrose, arrived at Aberdeen the 27th.

While the Duke with his army remained at Aberdeen, the Prince of Hesse marched his troops by Stirling to Perth, and fixed his head-quarters there. Thus the country near Perth and Aberdeen was secured from the incursions of the Highlanders, and several posts to the north of the Castle of Blair were occupied by the Argyllshire men, or small parties of the regulars.

The Highlanders having retreated to their mountains in several divisions, which they could unite or separate, and mix their troops as they pleased, found themselves masters of that part of the kingdom where there was no force to oppose them but that body of men which Lord Loudon and the President had assembled in the north, when Charles and his army marched to England.

Lord Loudon's army (as it was called) consisted of his own regiment, and eight independent companies, with some hundred Macdonalds and Macleods, who had come from the Isle of Skye with Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod. With this small army Lord Loudon had very near put an end to the war.

When Charles, with that division of the army which he led, came near Inverness, the other part of his army was at no great distance from him, on the road to Inverness by the coast, and as neither

of them were under any apprehensions from the neighbourhood of Lord Loudon's army, Charles allowed his men to straggle about in their own country; and he, with a very few men about him, took up his quarters at Moy, the seat of Mackintosh, which is but nine or ten miles from Inverness.

Lord Loudon, informed that Charles had only five or six hundred men with him at Moy, marched from Inverness with 1500 men on the evening of the 16th, as soon as it was quite dark.

Of this design against her guest, Lady Mackintosh was informed in the evening by two letters* from Inverness.

Without saying a word to Charles or any of his company, she ordered five or six of her people, well armed, under the conduct of a country smith, to watch the road from Inverness, and give notice if they should perceive any number of men coming towards Moy.

Lord Loudon's troops were within three miles of the place, when the noise which they made in marching was heard by the smith and his party, who immediately gave them a fire, and running here and there called upon the Macdonalds and

* One, it is said, from Fraser of Gorthleek, and one from her own mother, who was a Whig, but did not like that Charles should be killed or taken prisoner in her daughter's house.

Camerons to advance on the right and left, repeating often the well-known names of Lochiel and Keppoch.

Lord Loudon's men, who thought the whole Highland army was coming, turned their backs, and, striving who should be foremost in running away, many of them who first began to fly were thrown down and trode upon. The panic, fear, and flight, continued till they got near Inverness, without having been in any danger but that of being trampled to death, which many of them (when they were lying upon the ground, and trod upon* by such numbers) thought they could not possibly escape.

Charles, for whose safety the lady had provided so effectually, knew nothing of Lord Loudon's march till next morning; for he was up and dressed when the smith and his party came to Moy, and gave an account of their victory. Charles immediately gave orders to assemble his men, which was done that day, and next morning he marched them towards Inverness. Lord Loudon, at the approach of forces so much superior to his own, left the town,

* William Master, of Ross, who gave this account of the night march, was one of those who were thrown down and trod upon. That gallant gentleman had been in many perils, but had never, he said, found himself in a condition so grievous as that in which he was at the rout of Moy.

and, crossing the Ferry of Kessock, retreated to Ross-shire, whither he could not be immediately pursued, for he took all the boats with him to his own side of the Ferry. It was on the 18th of February that the Highland army got possession of Inverness; and from that day it may be said that the war assumed another form.

After Lord Loudon's retreat, the rebels laid siege to the Castle of Inverness (then called Fort George,) which did not hold out long, for it surrendered on the 20th.

Lord Loudon had left there in garrison two independent companies, and one company of old soldiers, who were made prisoners; a good deal of ammunition and provisions were found in the castle, with sixteen pieces of cannon of different calivers.

Fort George was no sooner surrendered than the rebels laid siege to Fort Augustus, which is thirty-two miles from Inverness. The siege was carried on by the French Irish, who, making use of some battering cannon found at Fort George, took the place in a few days. The garrison, which consisted of three companies of Guise's regiment, were made prisoners of war.

The rebels having reduced the forts in the neighbourhood of Inverness, and knowing that they had nothing to apprehend from the Duke of Cumberland's army for some time, projected a number of expeditions, attacks, and sieges, all of which they

attempted to carry into execution in the month of March, trusting to their knowledge of the country, and the hardiness of the Highlanders, who were able to endure the rigour of a season uncommonly severe.

First of all, in the end of February, they sent off a detachment to besiege Fort William. General Stapleton was appointed to command the troops, and conduct the siege. He had with him 300 men of the Irish piquets; and the Camerons, with the Macdonalds of Keppoch, and the Stuarts of Appin, under the command of Lochiel, were to join him when he came to Fort William.

The distance between Inverness and Fort William is sixty-one miles, and the hilly road between these two places (which for a great part of the way is a continuation of steep paths and passes) retarded the march of the French soldiers with their cannon so much, that they did not get to Fort William* for many days, and did not complete their batteries, nor begin to fire from them, till the 20th of March.

Several other enterprizes had been undertaken, and were carrying on at the same time; and there is a coincidence in the date of those events that

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* The Highlanders appeared before the fortress in the end of February.

happened in the month of March, which makes this part of the story seem confused and perplexed.

In the beginning of March, Lord Cromarty was sent into Ross-shire with his own regiment, and the Mackinnons, the Macgregors, and Barrisdale's men, to dislodge Lord Loudon and his forces, who, after their retreat from Inverness, had taken possession of Ross-shire.

Lord Loudon defended himself, and stood his ground against Lord Cromarty and his detachment; but when the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray joined Lord Cromarty with a reinforcement of some of the best men in the Highland army,* Lord Loudon crossed over the Frith of Tain to Sutherland, and, quartering his troops in the town of Dornoch and the country about it, lay with the Frith between him and the enemy.

Lord George Murray, leaving the Duke of Perth to prosecute the war against Lord Loudon, returned to Inverness to execute a design which he had formed, in concert with Cluny, of beating up the quarters of the King's troops in Athol.

From Inverness Lord George took with him one regiment of his Athol brigade, and proceeded to Badenoch, where he was joined by Cluny with 300

* The Macdonalds of Clanranald, under the command of their Chief, and one battalion of Lochiel's regiment, commanded by his brother.

Macphersons. Cluny informed him, that he had sent forward several parties of his men to guard the passes, and prevent all communication between Badenoch and Athol.

In the evening of the 16th of March, when day-light began to fail, they set out from Dalwhinnie with 700 men : nobody but Lord George and Cluny knew whither they were going, or what was intended to be done. At Dalspeddel, which is about the middle of Drummochter, a halt was ordered, and the 700 men were divided into a great many parties, in each of which the Atholmen and the Macphersons were mixed in proportion to their numbers in the detachment.

Lord George then made them a speech that declared and explained his design, which was to attack all the posts in Athol occupied by regulars or Argyllshire men, before day-light, and as nearly as possible at the same time. He concluded his speech by promising a reward of one guinea to every man who should surprise a centinel at his post.

The principal posts to be attacked were Bun-Rannoch, the house of Kinnachin, the house of Blairfettie, the house of Lude, the house of Faschillie, and the Public House (the Inn) at Blair, where, as Lord George Murray was informed, a good many officers of the 21st had taken up their quarters.

Many other small posts, commanded by non-commissioned officers, were included in the plan of attack.

The Bridge of Bruer, which is about two miles to the north of Blair, was appointed the place of rendezvous, to which all the different parties were ordered to repair, when they had discharged their duty; and there, it was told them, they should find Lord George Murray and Cluny.

The parties set out immediately, and most of them reached the places they were sent to attack before break of day.

At Bun-Rannoch there was a late-wake* that night, and the Argyllshire men quartered there were engaged as guests in that barbarous and now obsolete festivity. Their centinel was surprised, the party entered the house without a shot being fired, and made them all prisoners.

At the house of Kinnachin the centinel was upon his guard, discharged his piece at the approach of the enemy, and alarmed his friends, who,

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* It was formerly a custom in Scotland, at the death of any person, to assemble a company of the neighbours, who sat up all night in the room where the corpse lay. This company (of which some of the nearest relations always made a part) played at cards, told tales, and drank till day-light. Such was the late-wake, a custom once universal in Scotland, now almost as universally disused.

firing from the windows, defended themselves till the party broke into the house, and, killing one man, made the rest prisoners.

At Blairfettie the centinel was surprised, and the enemy was in the house before the Argyllshire men knew they were attacked; notwithstanding which, they resisted and defended themselves for some time, before they laid down their arms.

The house of Kinnachin was occupied by a party of the 21st regiment; their centinel was surprised and killed, and the whole party made prisoners.

At Faschillie, which is not far from Lude, there was a party of Argyllshire men, who were surprised and taken.

At Blair, those who attacked the public-house met with such resistance, that all the officers escaped, and got to the Castle of Blair.

About break of day, before any of the parties had joined Lord George at the place of rendezvous, or any account had been received of their success, a common fellow from the town of Blair, came to the Bridge of Bruer, and informed Lord George Murray, that Sir Andrew Agnew had got his men under arms, and was coming to see who they were that had attacked his posts.

When Lord George and Cluny received this notice, they had with them only twenty-five private men, and some elderly gentlemen. They consulted together what should be done. Some advi-

sed that without loss of time they should make the best of their way back to Drummochter. Others were of opinion that it would be better to mount the hills that were nearest, and make their retreat by roads where they could not easily be followed.

Lord George differed from everybody who had given his opinion. "If I quit my post," said he, "all the parties I have sent out, as they come in, will fall into the hands of the enemy."

It was day-light, but the sun was not up, Lord George looking earnestly about him, observed a fold dyke (that is, a wall of sod or turf) which had been begun as a fence for cattle, and left unfinished; it was of considerable length, and cut in two a field that was near the bridge. He ordered his men to follow him, and drew them up behind the dyke, at such a distance one from another, that they might make a great show, having the colours of both regiments flying in their front. He then gave orders to the pipers (for he had with him all the pipers, both of the Atholmen and the Macphersons) to keep their eyes fixed upon the road from Blair, and the moment they saw the soldiers appear, to strike up with all their bagpipes at once. It happened that the regiment came in sight just as the sun rose, and that instant the pipers began to play one of their most noisy pibrochs. Lord George Murray and his Highlanders, both officers and men, drew their swords, and brandished them

about their heads. Sir Andrew, after gazing a while at this spectacle, ordered his men to the right about, and marched them back to the Castle of Blair. Lord George Murray kept his post at the bridge till several of his parties* came in, and as soon as he had collected three or four hundred men, conscious of victory, and certain that his numbers would be greater very soon, he marched to Blair, and invested the Castle; but he had no battering cannon, for his whole train consisted of two small field-pieces, whose shot made no impression upon walls that were seven feet thick.

Lord George being informed that the garrison had no great stock of provisions, resolved to remain before the place and cut off all communication between the castle and the neighbouring country, that the troops might be obliged to surrender for want of subsistence. Accordingly, he placed his guards and commenced a blockade, which continued so long, that various movements were made in the

* When all the parties came in and made their report, (some of them at the Bridge of Bruer, and some at the village of Blair) it appeared that no less than thirty posts, great and small, had been attacked between three o'clock and five in the morning, and all of them carried. Though there had been a good deal of firing, few men were killed in the night attacks, for the rebels did not lose one man, and the King's troops not above three or four; but 300 men (non-commissioned officers included) were taken prisoners.

meantime by the rebels, and by the King's troops in different places, and several exploits performed, of which it is necessary to give some account.

When Lord George Murray left Ross-shire, the Duke of Perth remained there to prosecute the war against Lord Loudon, who had got into Sutherland, with the Frith of Tain between him and his enemies.

The Duke of Perth having collected a number of boats, and brought them to the town of Tain, which is directly opposite to Dornoch, he himself, with a considerable part of his forces, marched about by the head of the Frith. The men who were left at Tain embarking in the boats (at the time agreed upon with the Duke,) crossed the Frith under cover of a thick fog, and landed without being discovered.

The Duke of Perth uniting his forces, came up near Dornoch with 200 men of Lord Loudon's regiment, commanded by the Major, who had been informed by an express from Lord Loudon, of the approach of the enemy, and was marching to join his lordship. The Major, with four or five officers and sixty men, were made prisoners, and the rest dispersed.

After this disaster, Lord Loudon separated his army; he himself, with the President and Macleod, marched through Sutherland to the sea-coast, and embarked, with 800 men, for the Isle of Skye.

Several of the officers, and some of the men belonging to Lord Loudon's regiment, retreated to Lord Rae's country, where they had an opportunity soon after of doing a most essential piece of service.

Meanwhile, strong detachments of the King's army were sent from Aberdeen to take positions that might favour the march of the Duke of Cumberland, when he should advance with his forces into the Highlands.

On the 12th of March, a detachment, consisting of four battalions of infantry and two regiments of cavalry, under the command of General Bland, marched from Aberdeen to Old Meldrum, which is seventeen miles onward on the road to the river Spey, that runs between Aberdeen and Inverness, and is seldom fordable in spring, except the weather be uncommonly dry.

General Bland continued to advance with his troops, and was followed on the 16th by four battalions under the command of General Mordaunt, who was ordered to sustain General Bland in his attacks upon those bodies of the rebel army that had crossed the river Spey, and had taken possession of Strathbogie, where Colonel Roy Stewart commanded a body of horse and 1000 foot.

General Bland, marching early in the morning of the 17th, had got very near Strathbogie with his troops, before the rebels were informed of his approach. Colonel Stewart, with his men, immedi-

ately abandoned the town, and retreated to Fochabers.

About the end of March, the Duke of Cumberland's army was divided into three large bodies, one of which, commanded by Lord Albemarle and General Bland, lay at Strathbogie. Another lay at Old Meldrum, commanded by General Mordaunt, and the third was quartered at Aberdeen, where the Duke himself commanded.

While the army was cantoned in this manner, a detachment from the division under General Bland, consisting of seventy Argyllshiremen, and thirty of Kingston's horse, occupied the village of Keith, which lies between Strathbogie and Fochabers. The Highlanders, informed of the number of this detachment, marched a much greater number of their men from Fochabers to Keith; and arriving there at midnight, on the 20th of March, surprised the party so completely, that almost all of them, both horse and foot, were killed or made prisoners.

All these affairs happened in the month of March, and nearly about the same time, that is, in the end of the month.

The friends of government were grieved and astonished when they heard of so many attacks made by an enemy, of whose attacks they never expected to have heard any more.

But while the enterprizes of the Highlanders by land were, for the most part, successful, the attempts

of France and Spain, to send them succours by sea, generally failed. For the frigates and privateers (sometimes single ships, and sometimes two or three together) sent with supplies of men and money to the rebel army, seldom escaped the English men-of-war which cruised in the North Seas to intercept them.

There was one vessel belonging to the rebels, which had formerly been a sloop of war in the navy of England, called the Hazard, but being captured by the Highlanders in the harbour of Montrose, her name was changed; and they called her the Prince Charles. This vessel sailed remarkably well; and had made several voyages to France.

In the end of March, the Prince Charles made her appearance in the North Seas, having on board 120 soldiers, and twenty officers (mostly Irish in the Spanish service,) with a considerable sum of money.

An English cruiser, called the Sheerness, got sight of the Prince Charles on the 25th of March; and, after a long chace, and a running fight, drove her on shore in the Bay of Tongue, near Lord Reay's house.

The officers and soldiers landed immediately, taking with them, it is said, 12 or 13,000*l.* in gold; but they were soon descried, and attacked by those officers and men of Lord Loudon's regiment who had come into Lord Reay's country, as has been

mentioned, where they were joined by some of the Mackays, raised by Lord Reay's sons. The contest did not last long; the foreigners, after a very faint resistance, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves, with the money, of which Charles and his army were at that time in the greatest want.*

The month of March was now near an end, and as the cold wind of the spring, that dries the ground more than the heat of summer, had blown for some time, and made the rivers fordable, it was concluded that the Duke of Cumberland would march very soon, and attack Charles in his head-quarters at Inverness. In this belief, expresses were sent to all the officers of the rebel army, who commanded detachments at a distance, to desist from their en-

* The rebel army had been in great distress for want of money, some time before the Prince Charles was taken. Orders were sent to General Stapleton and Lochiel to hasten the siege of Fort-William as much as possible; and when they had taken the fort, as there was no prospect of getting any money, unless they were in possession of the Lowcountry, Charles and his Counsellors had determined that Lochiel and Keppoch, with their own regiments, and the regiments of Clanronald, Glengary, and Appin, should march into Argyllshire, while Charles, with the rest of the clans, and the Lowcountry regiments, should march by the Highland road to Perth, where it was intended the two divisions of his army should join.

Secretary Murray's Letter to Lochiel, dated Fort Augustus, March 14th.—Appendix, No. 41.

terprizes, and hasten to Inverness with all the men under their command.

Lord George Murray having received orders to this effect, sent off his two pieces of cannon from Blair, on the 31st of March. Next day, at two o'clock in the morning, he marched with all his forces to Badenoch.

During the blockade of the castle of Blair, nothing memorable happened. Few men were killed on either side; and the garrison suffered no distress, but from want of provisions, by which they were reduced to great extremity; and if the blockade had lasted a few days longer, it seems probable they would have been obliged to surrender.

When Lord George Murray came to Badenoch, he left the Macphersons in their own country,* and sent down his regiment to Speyside, to join the Athole brigade, which made part of those forces under the command of the Duke of Perth that guarded the fords of the river Spey, by which it was expected the Duke of Cumberland's army would come, when they marched northward. Lord

* Badenoch is so near Inverness, that it was thought the Macphersons could be had whenever they were wanted; and, in the meantime, might labour their ground, sow their oat seed, and live upon their own provisions; for the magazines at Inverness were very ill supplied with ammunition of every sort.

George himself went on to Inverness, where he arrived on the 3d of April.

On that very day the siege * of Fort-William was raised by General Stapleton, who spiked his heavy cannon, carried off his field pieces, and marched with his own men towards Inverness, leaving the Highlanders and their Chiefs to follow when they pleased.

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* A Journal of the Siege of Fort-William, said to be written by an officer of the garrison, was published in the Scots Magazine of the month of March, in the year 1746. The author of that Journal states the number of the men in garrison at 600, takes notice of the strength of the place, which could not be invested; for it was built on the sea shore, and when General Stapleton came there, was defended on that side by the fire of two sloops of war. The siege, though not a very regular one, lasted about a month, and the garrison, who made several sallies, lost only six men.

CHAPTER X.

The Duke of Cumberland at Aberdeen.—His Army leaves Aberdeen.—Proceeds towards Inverness.—Skirmish at the Bridge of Nairne.—The Rear-guard of the Rebels retreats.—The Van-guard of the Duke's Army pursues.—Charles comes up with a Body of his Troops.—The Van-guard of the Duke's Army retreats.—Joins their Main Body.—Design of a Night Attack.—Night March of the Rebels.—The Design frustrated.—The Rebels retreat to Culloden.—March of the Duke of Cumberland to attack them.—Defeat and Dispersion of the Rebel Army.

WHILE the Generals of the Highland army were marching with their men towards Inverness, the Duke of Cumberland was preparing to march to the same place with all his forces. His Royal Highness had provided every thing that was thought necessary to ensure success.

Intending to march by the coast road, which is nowhere far from the sea, he had given orders for a number of transports, with a convoy of several ships of war, to attend his army in their march.

The transports were loaded with provisions, ammunition, artillery, and every thing necessary for an army.

On the 8th of April, the Duke of Cumberland left Aberdeen with the last division of his army,* and advancing to the northward, was joined by General Bland and General Mordaunt, with the troops under their command; so that the whole army met at Cullen, which is twelve miles from the river Spey.

At Aberdeen, the Duke's army had been reinforced by two regiments from England, the Duke of Kingston's regiment of light horse, and Blyth's regiment of foot, with 600 recovered men from the hospitals at Edinburgh. The weather was cold, but windy and dry, and the river Spey was known to be fordable.

A considerable part of the rebel army, under the command of the Duke of Perth, lay on the north-west side of the river Spey. These troops consisted mostly of the Lowcountry regiments: they had drawn a trench, and raised some works on their side of the river, as if they intended to oppose the passage of the King's troops.

On the 12th of April, the army left Cullen, and

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* State of the effective force of the army under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, from the return dated at Aberdeen, March 26, 1746.—

Effective rank and file, 7179.

State Paper Office, July 14, 1801.

Extracted by John Bruce, keeper of State Papers.

marched on till they came to the Moor of Arroudel, which is about five or six miles from the river Spey. The army halted there, and formed in three divisions, each of them about half a mile distant from each other. The greatest division of the three was on the left, and marched along the high-road: the other two divisions marched nearer the sea and the ships, which were on their right. In this order the army advanced till they came to the river, which the greatest division entered at a ford near Gormach, the next division to that at the ford by Gordon Castle, and the division on the right at a ford near the church of Belly. In this manner the Duke's army crossed the river Spey, without opposition, though it was generally expected that the passage of the river would be disputed. But this apprehension was owing to the ignorance that prevailed both of the condition of the rebel army at Inverness, and the number of men under the Duke of Perth's command, for he had not with him one-half* of the forces of Charles, and was under orders to retreat without coming to an action.

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* The Duke of Perth had with him at Speyside his own regiment, the Athole brigade, Lord Lewis Gordon's, and Lord Ogilvie's regiments, Colonel John Roy Stewart's regiment, the Farquharsons, and all the horse of the rebel army, except the first troop of guards. If the rest of their forces had been assembled, it was intended to have marched them all to Spey.

Accordingly, when the King's troops were approaching the river, the banks of which are very high on the north-west side, the Duke of Perth drew off his men, and retreated to Elgin.

The Duke of Cumberland's army encamped on the north side of the Spey, opposite to Fochabers.

On Sunday the 13th, the army marched from Speyside to the muir of Alves, (which is a march of fourteen miles,) and encamped near the parish-church of Alves, four miles from Elgin.—On Monday the 14th, the army moved on to Nairn, which is seventeen miles from Alves. The van-guard, which consisted of some companies of grenadiers, with part of the Argyllshire men, and Kingston's light horse, marched on briskly. When they came to the Bridge of Nairn, they found that the rear-guard of the rebels had not left the town, and a party of their men (some of the Irish piquets,) standing at one end of the bridge, fired upon the grenadiers at the other; some shots were exchanged without much loss on either side.

When the rebels quitted the town, their retreat was covered by some cavalry, consisting of one troop of Fitz-James's horse, and the second troop of horse-guards. The troops that dislodged them from Nairn continued the pursuit for several miles, and were very near them at a place called the Loch of the Clans, (which is five or six miles from Nairn,) when Charles came up most unexpectedly with his

first troop of guards, and the Mackintosh regiment. He ordered his men to halt, and formed them to receive the attack of the pursuers; who, seeing themselves outnumbered, retreated in their turn; and marching back to Nairn, joined the army, which was encamped on the plain west of that town.

Charles had left Inverness in the morning, and taken with him all the troops that were there, leaving orders for those that were coming up, to follow him as fast as they could to Culloden,* which is three miles onward in the way to Nairn.

At this critical time, the rebel army was much dispersed. Lochiel and Keppoch, with the Highlanders who had been at the siege of Fort-William, were on their way to Inverness, and expected every hour. Lord Cromarty, with about 700 men, was in Sutherland; as was also Mackinnon, Glengyle, and Barisdale, with their men.—Cluny and the Macphersons were still in Badenoch: the Master of Lovat (afterwards General Fraser) had gone to his father's country, which is very near Inverness, to bring up all the men he could to complete the second battalion lately added to his regiment. The

* Culloden is a little to the southward of the high-road from Inverness to Nairn. These towns are about seventeen miles distant.

absence of so many men was perfectly well known in the army; and it seemed very strange that Charles should make a movement which brought him nearer his enemies, and carried him still farther from his own men, of whom he stood in so much need. It appeared very soon that he came to Culloden for that very reason, that he might be nearer the Duke of Cumberland's army than he was at Inverness.

In the evening of the 14th, Lochiel joined the army with his regiment. That night the Highlanders (who never pitched a tent) lay upon the ground among the furze and trees of Culloden-wood. Charles and his principal officers were lodged in Culloden-house.

Next day the army, joined by Keppoch and his regiment, was drawn up in order of battle upon Drummossie Moor,* about a mile and a half to the south-east of Culloden-house. When mid-day came, and the King's army did not appear, it was con-

* On the 15th, when the rebel army was formed upon this moor, Lord George Murray proposed to retire to the other side of the river Nairn, and occupy a piece of ground, which, he said, was a much more proper field of battle for Highlanders than the plain moor where the army was drawn up.—See Lord George Murray's account of this proposal, and his reasons for it, in a letter from him to Mr Hamilton of Bangour. Appendix, No. 42.

cluded that they had not moved from their camp at Nairn, and would not move that day, which was the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day. About two o'clock the men were ordered to their quarters, and Charles calling together the Generals and Chiefs, made them a speech, in which he proposed to march with all his forces in the evening, and make a night attack upon the Duke of Cumberland's army in their camp at Nairn.

At first nobody seemed to relish this proposal; and the Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond expressed their dislike of it. Lochiel, who was not a man of many words, said that the army would be stronger next day by 1500 men at least; but when Lord George Murray rose, and seconded the proposal made by Charles, insisting and enlarging upon the advantage of a night attack, that rendered cannon and cavalry (in which the superiority of the Duke of Cumberland's army chiefly consisted,) of little service, it was agreed to make the attempt, as the best thing that could be done in their present circumstances, for they were almost entirely destitute both of money and provisions.

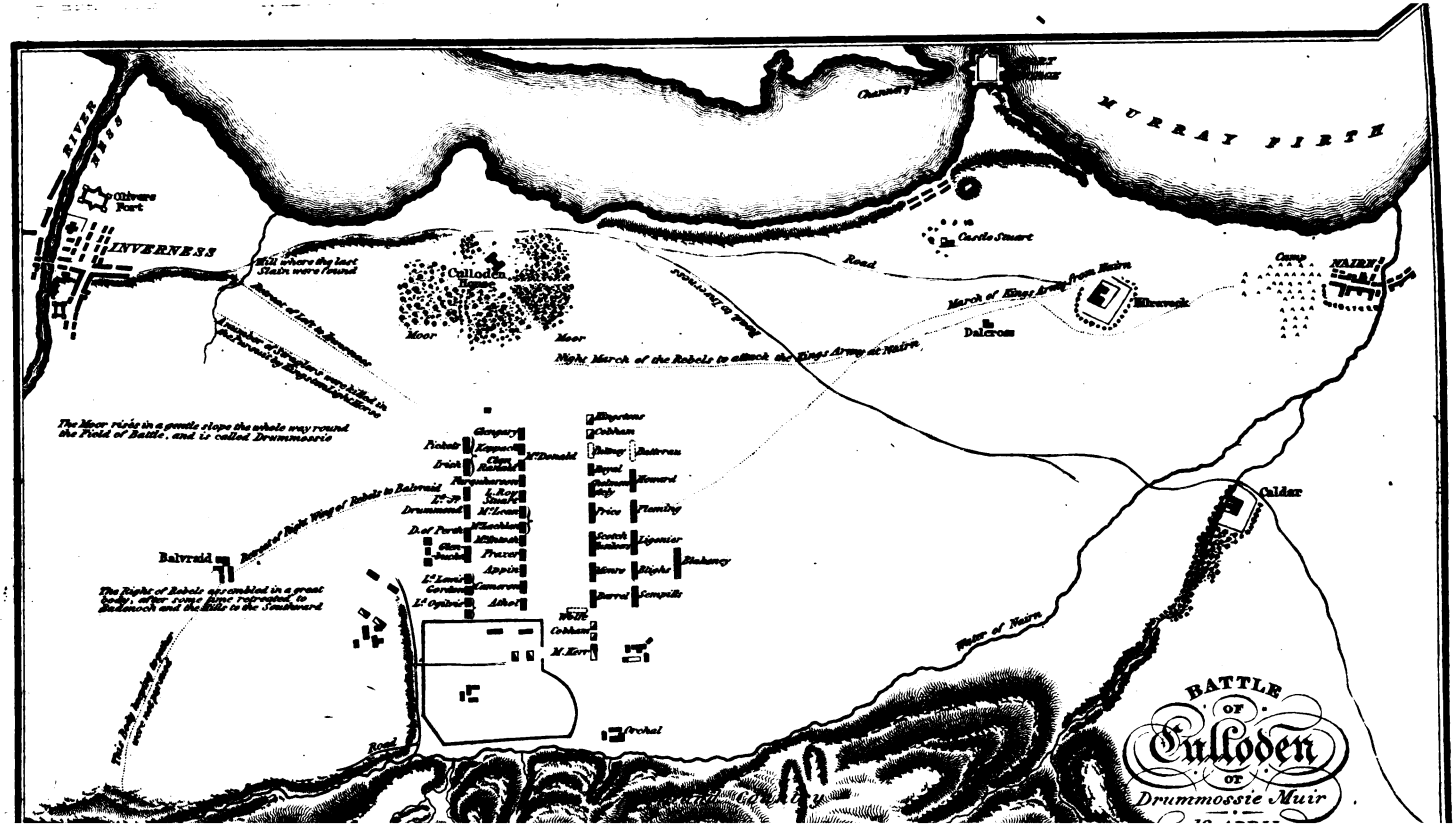
When the officers went to their regiments, they found that a great number of the soldiers had gone to Inverness and places adjacent to procure provisions. Officers were sent from every regiment to bring the men back, but they refused to come, bidding the officers shoot them if they pleased, for

they would not come back till they had got some food. This happened between six and seven o'clock in the evening; and as the army was to march at eight, the absence of so many men seemed to put an end to the design of a night attack; but Charles was bent upon making the attack. He made the Chiefs and Colonels assemble what men they could, and at eight o'clock gave orders to Lord George Murray to march. Lord George put himself at the head of the army, and marched with great alacrity to execute the design of a night attack, which he himself had formed; and it was to have been executed in the following manner:—

The river Nairn passes within half a mile of Drummossie Moor,* and runs from that straight east towards the town of Nairn, which stands, as Culloden does, on the north side of the river. Lord George Murray intended to march with the army in a body, till they were past the house of Kilraick, or Kilravock,† then to divide his troops, and cross the river with the van, (making about one-third of the army,) which he himself commanded, at a place about two miles distant from Nairn, and march on, having two-thirds of the army on the north side,

* The field of battle.

† The house of Kilravock is ten miles from Culloden, on the direct road to the town of Nairn.



BATTLE OF Culloden OF Drummossie Muir
MURRAY FIRTH
RIVER NESS
INVERNESS
Oliver's Fort
Hill where the last Slain were found
Culloden House
Moor
Moor
Road
Road to Inverness
Castle Stuart
Camp
NAIRN
Dalcross
Night March of the Rebels to attack the Kings Army at Nairn
The Moor rises in a gentle slope the whole way round the Field of Battle, and is called Drummossie
Balvraid
The Right of Rebels assembled in a great body, after some time retreated to Badenoch and the Hills to the Southward
Retreat of Right Wing of Rebels to Balvraid
Kingstons
Cobham
Battreau
Howard
Fleming
Ligonier
Blakeney
Sempills
Cobham
M. Kerr
Orchal
Water of Nairn
Calder
Road

and one third on the south side of the river, till both of them came near the Duke's camp, then to cross the river again with his own division, and attack the King's army at once from the south and from the west. This was the plan of the night attack ;* which, if it had been executed as it was projected, would, in the opinion of some of the bravest officers in the Duke's army, have proved not a little dangerous.

The Highland army marched from Culloden in a column, or rather in a long line of march, with an interval in the middle, as if there were two columns, one following the other.

Lord George Murray marched in the front of

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* The plan of a night attack had been formed by Lord George Murray, who concluded that the Duke of Cumberland, whose army had not halted from the time they left Aberdeen, would certainly halt at Nairn. Lord George Murray communicated his plan to Charles, who promised, upon his honour, to keep the manner of the attack secret. Accordingly, in his speech to the officers, Charles did not mention the manner of the attack. There was another person in the army, Anderson, the guide at the battle of Preston, to whom Lord George had imparted the whole design. Anderson entreated him to explain himself to some of the Chiefs, particularly to Lochiel, which Lord George positively refused to do, saying, the Chiefs would be talking of it to some of their kindred, and his design would take air, and be defeated, for the success depended absolutely upon its being kept secret.

the first column, at the head of the Athole brigade—Lord John Drummond was in the rear of that division or column; Charles and the Duke of Perth were in the interval between the two columns, that is, in the centre of the line of march. Two officers, and between twenty or thirty men of the Mackintosh regiment, who knew the road very well, for they lived in that part of the country, were distributed along the line as guides.

Soon after the Highlanders left Culloden it grew very dark, and as they kept no road, that they might avoid some houses on the high way to Nairn, they were obliged to march through some very wet and deep ground, which retarded them much, especially those that were in the rear: they had not marched far, when a messenger came up to the front, desiring that the van should halt, for the other column was a great way behind. The van did not halt, but an order was given for the men to march slower: notwithstanding this order, the rear still lost ground, and many messengers were sent, insisting that the van should halt and wait for them.

While they proceeded in this manner, a great deal of time was lost, and the night was far spent before they reached Kilravock.

The Highlanders had passed the house and wood of Kilravock, and the van of their army was about a mile from the place where Lord George Murray

intended to cross the river, when Lord John Drummond, who had often come up before, and whispered Lord George Murray to order a halt, came up again, and said aloud to Lord George, "Why will you go on? There is a gap in the line half a mile long; the men won't come up." Lord George Murray ordered a halt.*

Lochiel, whose regiment marched next to the Athole brigade, came up to the front, and joining Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, and General Sullivan, with some volunteers who had marched all night in the front, consulted what was best to be done: they knew by their repeating watches that it was two o'clock in the morning; and as Nairn was more than three miles off, it was evident, from the time they had taken in marching hither, that it would be broad day-light before they could reach Nairn. Lord George Murray said it was a free parliament, and desired every body to speak, and give their opinion, for they were all equally concerned.

Most of them did speak, but they differed in opinion. Some advised a retreat, as day-light was

* The place where the Highland army halted, is called the Yellow Know (Knoll,) the name of a small farm-house belonging to Rose of Kilravock, which is above three miles from Nairn.

so near, and they could not expect to surprise the enemy. Others declared themselves for marching on to Nairn. Lord George Murrray, provoked that his favourite design of a night attack was frustrated,* joined those who advised a retreat, and answered every person who spoke for going on, of whom the most determined was Mr Hepburn, who urged Lord George Murray to lose no time, but order the men to march on to Nairn as fast as they could. While Mr Hepburn was speaking, a drum beat.—"Don't you hear," said Lord George; "the enemy are alarmed; we can't surprise them."—"I never expected," said Mr Hepburn, "to find them asleep; but it is much better to march on and attack them than to retreat, for they will most certainly follow, and oblige us to fight when we shall be in a much worse condition to fight them than we are now."

During this altercation between Lord George Murray and Mr Hepburn, John Hay† came up,

* When it was agreed in council to march to Nairn, and attempt a night attack, Lord George Murray, who had taken Anderson to the council, squeezed him by the hand, and carried him home to dinner, where he expressed himself with great confidence of success; and assured Anderson, that the night attack gave the Highland army a much better chance than they had either at Preston or Falkirk.

† About the time of the battle of Culloden, Secretary Murray was in bad health, and John Hay acted as secretary.

and hearing what they said, immediately rode back to Charles, who was in the centre of the line of march, and told him, that unless he came to the front, and ordered Lord George Murray to go on, nothing would be done. Charles, who was on horseback, set out instantly, and riding pretty fast, met the Highland army marching back to Culloden. Charles was extremely incensed; and said Lord George Murray had betrayed him.

Of this night march towards Nairn, the Duke of Cumberland had certain information; for several people in his pay, who spoke the Gaelic language, and wore the Highland garb, mixed with the rebels as they marched; and taking their opportunity to leave them at different times, gave notice to the Duke of the progress of the Highland army; but none of the Duke's spies knew any thing of the intended attack, for Charles had kept his word.

The last person who came with intelligence to Nairn was one Shaw (afterwards an officer in the 25th regiment.) From this information the Duke concluded that the Highlanders were coming on in the front of his encampment, where he could not be surprised; for in the plain to the west of his camp, between his army and the Highlanders, were the Argyllshire men, commanded by Colonel Campbell (afterwards Duke of Argyll); and ad-

vanced beyond them, there was a party of dragoons, commanded by Captain Hall (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel), that patrolled all night between the river Nairn and the sea.

It seems probable, that the Duke of Cumberland thought the rebels intended only to approach his camp, take their ground in the night, and attack the army in the morning; for when Shaw came in, the soldiers were ordered to lie down with their arms by them, and take some rest.

At break of day the Duke's army was formed, and about five o'clock began their march towards Inverness, the infantry in three columns, with the cavalry in front and rear.

The Highlanders marched back to Culloden in much less time than they had taken in marching towards Nairn; for, besides the advantage of having day-light, which they had very soon, there was no occasion to shun the houses; and they took the best and shortest road.

It was between five and six in the morning when they got back to Culloden, fatigued and famished; the men had received no pay for a month; and on the 15th they had only one biscuit each man. The night march backwards and forwards had made matters worse, which were bad before. Many of the private men lay down to sleep; and no small number of them made the best of their way to Inverness to seek provisions.

About eight o'clock, Cameron, a Lieutenant in Lochiel's regiment, (who had been left asleep near the place where the halt was made,) came to Culloden-house, where Charles with his principal officers lodged, and informed them that he had seen the Duke's army in full march towards them. Orders were immediately given to recall the men who had gone to Inverness, and to march the regiments to a part of Drummossie-muir, about half a mile to the west of that place, where they had been drawn up the day before.

Sullivan, who was both Adjutant and Quarter-master-General, made the disposition; and formed the army in two lines, with a body of reserve. The Athole brigade had the right of the first line: on their left stood Lochiel's regiment, the Appin regiment, the Frazer regiment, the Mackintosh regiment, the united regiment of Maclachlans and Macleans, John Roy Stewart's regiment, the Farquharson regiment; and on the left of all, the three Macdonald regiments, Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengary. Lord George Murray commanded on the right, and Lord John Drummond on the left.

The second line consisted of Lord Ogilvie's regiment of two battalions, which had the right; of Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment, also of two battalions, Glenbucket's regiment, the Duke of Perth's regiment, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish piquets.

General Stapleton commanded the second line. On the right of the first line, and somewhat behind it, was the first troop of horse-guards,* and on the left of the second line a troop of Fitz-James's horse. Lord Kilmarnock's regiment of foot-guards, † with the remains of Lord Pitsligo's and Lord Strathallan's horse, which were dwindled almost to nothing, made the reserve, which was commanded by Lord Kilmarnock.

Charles placed himself on a small eminence behind the right of the second line, with Lord Balmerino's troop of horse-guards, and Colonel Shea's troop of Fitz-James's horse.

The rebels were standing in this order, ‡ (having

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* In the different retreats which the rebels made, their cavalry was so much diminished, that, these two troops excepted, none of the horse made a part either of the first or second line.

† When the Highland army left Edinburgh, Lord Kilmarnock commanded a small body of cavalry, called the horse-grenadiers; but his grenadiers were dismounted, and their horses given to the men of Fitz-James's regiment, who had landed in Scotland, having saddles and accoutrements with them, but no horses. The grenadiers made the beginning of a regiment of infantry, which was called the foot-guards; and commanded by Lord Kilmarnock.

‡ Notwithstanding the number of regiments mentioned in this order of battle, Patullo, muster-master of the rebel army, makes the number of their men in the field to have been only 5000; "for," says he, "although there were 8000 men upon

a wall which covered the right flank* of their army) when the king's army came in sight of them, about 12 o'clock, at the distance of two miles and a half.

The Duke of Cumberland, seeing that the rebels had taken their ground to give him battle, ordered a halt; and, breaking his columns into two lines of foot, flanked with horse, and having a strong body of reserve, advanced towards the enemy.

The first line of the Duke's army consisted of six regiments of foot. The royal had the right. On their left stood Cholmondeley's, Price's, the Scots Fusileers, Monro's, and Burrel's. The second line consisted of the same number of regiments. Howard's regiment had the right; on their left stood

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paper, 3000 were absent." Lord Cromarty was in Sutherland with his own regiment. He had also with him, Glengyle, Mackinnon, Barrisdale, and their men. Cluny, with the Macphersons, was on his march to Culloden, and at no great distance when the battle was fought. Besides these regiments, and considerable bodies of troops, a good number of men from every regiment, when they came back to Culloden after the night march, had gone to Inverness and other places in quest of food, and were not returned when the King's army came in sight of the rebels.

* The wall which covered the flank of the rebel army, was the north wall of a very large inclosure, whose south wall was near the river of Nairn; and the east wall about 150 paces from the cavalry, on the left of the Duke's army when the battle began.

Fleming's, Ligonier's, Blyth's, Sempill's, and Wolfe's. The reserve consisted of Blakeney's, Battereau's, and Pulteney's. The Duke of Kingston's regiment of light horse, and one squadron of Lord Cobham's dragoons, were placed on the right of the first line; Lord Mark Ker's regiment of dragoons, and two squadrons of Lord Cobham's, on the left. When the King's army came within five or six hundred paces of the rebel army, part of the ground in their front was so soft and boggy, that the horses which drew the cannon sunk; and were obliged to be taken off: the soldiers, slinging their firelocks, dragged the cannon across the bog. As soon as the cannon were brought to firmer ground, two field-pieces, short six-pounders, were placed in the intervals between the battalions; and Colonel Belford of the artillery, who directed the cannon of the Duke's army, began to fire upon the rebels, who, for some time, had been firing upon the King's troops from several batteries; but the cannon of the rebels were very ill served, and did little harm.* The Duke's artillery did great execution, making lanes through the Highland regiments. The Duke of Cumberland, observing the wall on the right flank of the Highland army, ordered Colonel Belford to continue the cannonade,

* One man in Blyth's regiment had his leg carried off by a cannon-ball. Not another shot took place.

with a view to make the Highlanders leave the ground where they stood, and come down to attack his army. During the cannonade, which began a little after one o'clock, and lasted till near two, the Duke made several changes in the disposition of his army. Wolfe's regiment, which stood on the left of the second line, and extended somewhat beyond the left of the first line, was moved from its place (where the men were standing in water up to their ankles,) and brought to the left of the first line, where they wheeled to the right, (and formed *en potence*, as it is called,) making a front to the north, so as to fire upon the flank of the rebels, if they should come down to attack the King's army. The Duke, at the same time, ordered two regiments to move up from the reserve, so that Pulteney's regiment stood on the right of the royal, which had the right of the first line before, and Battereau's regiment stood on the right of Howard's regiment in the second line. His Royal Highness, after making these changes in the disposition of his army, placed himself between the first and second line, in the front of Howard's regiment.

While these changes were making, Colonel Belford observing the body of horse with Charles, ordered two pieces of cannon to be pointed at them; several discharges were made; and some balls broke ground among the horses legs. Charles had his face

bespattered with dirt; and one of his servants who stood behind the squadron, with a led horse in his hand, was killed. Meanwhile, the cannonade continued, and the Highlanders in the first line, impatient of suffering, without doing any harm to their enemies, grew clamorous to be led on to the attack. A message was sent to Lochiel, whose regiment stood next the Athole brigade, desiring that he would represent to Lord George Murray the necessity of attacking immediately. While Lochiel was speaking with Lord George, the Mackintosh regiment broke * out from the centre of the first line, and advanced against the regiment opposite to them, which was the 21st. But the fire of the field-pieces, and the small arms of the 21st, made the Mackintoshes incline to the right, from whence all the regiments to their right, with one regiment to their left, were coming down to the charge. These regiments, joining together, advanced under a heavy fire of cannon (loaded with grape-shot)†

* Before the Mackintosh regiment moved, Charles had sent an order to Lord George Murray to attack; but Lord George never received the order, for Maclachlan, who carried it, in his way to him, was killed by a cannon-ball.

† Colonel Belford had ordered his men to load the field-pieces with cannon-ball, as long as the Highlanders remained on their ground; but when they advanced to attack the King's army, and came within a proper distance, he ordered his men to load the field-pieces with grape-shot.

and musketry in their front, and a flank fire when they came near Wolfe's regiment. Notwithstanding which they still advanced; * and attacking sword in hand, broke through Burrel's and Monro's in the first line, and pushed on to the second. In the second line, immediately behind Burrel's, stood Sempill's regiment, which, during the attack, had advanced fifty or sixty paces; and their front rank kneeling and presenting, waited till Burrel's men got out of their way; for the soldiers of Burrel's and Monro's did not run directly back, but went off behind the battalions on their right. The Highlanders who had broke through the first line were got close together, without any interval between one clan and another; and the greater part of them came on directly against Sempill's regiment, which allowed them to come very near, and then gave them a terrible fire, that brought a great many of them to the ground, and made most of those who did not fall turn back. A few, and but a few, still pressed on, desperate and furious, to break into Sempill's regiment, which not a man of them ever did, the foremost falling at the end of the soldiers' bayonets.

* The Athole brigade, in advancing, lost thirty-two officers, and was so shattered that it stopt short, and never closed with the King's troops.

Blyth's regiment, which was on the right of Sempill's, gave their fire at the same time, and repulsed those that were advancing against them. When the Highland regiments on the right of their first line made this attack, the regiments on the left, the Farquharsons, and the three Macdonald regiments, did not advance at the same time, nor attack in the same manner. They came so near the King's army, as to draw upon themselves some fire from the regiments that were opposite to them, which they returned by a general discharge, and the Macdonalds had drawn their swords to attack in the usual manner; but seeing those regiments, that had attacked sword in hand, repulsed and put to flight, * they also went off. When the Highlanders in the first line gave way, the King's army did not pursue immediately. The regiments of foot, from right to left, were ordered to stand upon the ground where they had fought, and dress

* The Macdonald officers said, and Macdonald of Morar (eldest cadet of Clanronald) has left it in writing, that their men were affronted at being deprived of the right, (the post of honour,) which the Macdonalds had at the battles of Preston and Falkirk, and have had, they say, from time immemorial. The Duke of Perth, in the battle of Culloden, stood at the head of the Glengary regiment; and hearing the men murmur, (for they murmured aloud,) said to them, that if the Macdonalds behaved with their usual valour, they would make a right of the left, and he would call himself Macdonald.

their ranks. The horse on the right of the King's army were the first that pursued, and they were very near the Macdonalds, when the Irish piquets came down from their place in the second line, and fired upon the dragoons who halted, and the Macdonalds fell back to the second line. The two lines joined, formed a considerable body of men; but their hearts were broken, and their condition was altogether hopless and irretrievable: in their front they saw the infantry which had defeated them, and reduced their two lines to one, preparing to advance against them. On their right flank, and somewhat behind them, they saw a body of the Duke's cavalry * ready to fall upon them as soon as the infantry should advance.

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* Before the battle began, that is, before the Mackintosh regiment advanced against the King's army, General Bland, who commanded the Duke's cavalry on the left, ordered two companies of the Argyllshire men, and one company of Lord Loudon's regiment, to break down the east wall of the inclosure, whose north wall covered the flank of the rebel army. The three companies of foot pulled down the wall, and entering with the dragoons, put to the sword about 100 men, who had been posted in the inclosure to defend the wall. General Bland then ordered the foot to pull down part of the west wall of the inclosure, which they did; and the dragoons getting out upon the moor, formed at a little distance from the rear of the enemy. General Stapleton observing their position, detached from the second line one of Lord Lewis Gordon's regiments, commanded by Gordon of Abbachie, who with his men occu-

Such was the condition of the rebels, when the Duke of Cumberland, with his infantry, advanced towards them. At his approach they began to separate, and go off in small parties, four or five together. The rest made two large bodies; one of these, in which were most of the Western Highlanders, directed their course towards Badenoch, and the hills of their own country. The other, and much the smaller body, in which were the Frasers, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish piquets, marched straight to Inverness. The dragoons, both from the right and left of the Duke's army, pursued, and did great execution upon the straggling parties. Kingston's light horse followed the chace, till they came within a mile of Inverness. At a mill, which is about that distance from the town, lay the last of the slain. The Duke of Cumberland, marching on towards Inverness, was met by a drummer with a message from General Stapleton, offering to surrender, and asking quarter. The Duke made Sir Joseph Yorke alight from his horse, and with his pencil write a note to General Stapleton, assuring him of fair quarter,

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pied a piece of ground where there was a hollow way between the dragoons and them. General Bland then ordered the Argyllshire men to go close to the north wall, and fire on the flank of the rebels. The Argyllshire men obeyed him, but received a fire which killed two of their captains and an ensign.

and honourable treatment. The drummer went off with his answer. The Duke then sent forward Captain Campbell* of Sempill's regiment, with his company of grenadiers, who took possession of Inverness. The French and Irish laid down their arms.

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* Afterwards Sir James Campbell of Ardkinlass.

CHAPTER XI.

Circumstances and Incidents at the Battle of Culloden.—Number of the Slain in both Armies.—Fate of the Chiefs who commanded the Highland Regiments that attacked the King's Army.—Route of Charles when he left the Field.—Crosses the River of Nairn—Halts there some time.—Goes to Gorthleek—Sees Lord Lovat—Travels through the Highlands to Boradale—Embarks for the Long Island—His Danger and Distress there—Returns to the Main Land—His Distress does not abate—Joins Lochiel and Cluny—Lives with them in the Great Mountain Renalder.—Notice comes that two French Frigates are arrived at Boradale. He travels to Borradale—Embarks, and lands in France.

THE Duke of Cumberland's army did not lose many men in the battle of Culloden. A list of the killed and wounded, published by authority, makes the number amount to 310, officers included.* No

* Four officers were killed, fourteen were wounded.

general or field-officer was killed. The person of the greatest distinction who fell that memorable day, was Lord Robert Ker, (second son of the Marquis of Lothian,) captain of grenadiers in Burrel's regiment. He was in the bloom of youth, and extremely handsome, standing at the head of his company when the Highlanders broke into Burrel's, he received (it is said) the foremost man upon his spontoon, and was killed instantly, with many wounds. As to the number of men in the rebel army killed at the battle of Culloden, it seems impossible* to ascertain what it was. The newspapers and magazines, published at that time, make the number amount to 2000 or 3000. Other accounts make the number to be less than 1000.

The Highlanders who attacked sword in hand, were the Maclachlans and Macleans, (making one regiment,) the Mackintoshes, the Frasers, the Stuarts, and the Camerons.

Most of the Chiefs who commanded these five regiments were killed, and almost every man in the front rank of each regiment. Maclachlan, Colonel of the united regiment, was killed by a cannon-ball, and the Lieutenant-Colonel, Maclean of

* The rebels published accounts of the battles of Preston and Falkirk, in which they were victorious; but no account of the battle of Culloden has been published by the vanquished.

Drimnin, who succeeded to the command, bringing off his shattered regiment, and missing two of his sons, (for he had three in the field,) turned back to look for them, and was killed by a random shot. Macgillivray of Drumnaglass, Colonel of the Mackintosh regiment, was killed in the attack, with the Lieutenant-Colonel, the Major, and all the officers of his regiment, three excepted. Charles Fraser, younger of Inverallachie, who was Lieutenant-Colonel, and commanded the Fraser regiment,* was killed. The Stuart regiment had a number, both officers and men, killed in the attack; but Stuart of Appin, their Chief, never having joined the standard of Charles, the regiment was commanded by Stuart of Ardshiel, who escaped from the field. Cameron of Lochiel, advancing at the head of his regiment, was so near Burrel's, that he had fired his pistol, and was drawing his sword, when he fell, wounded with grape-shot in both ankles. The two brothers, between whom he was advancing, raised him up,

* The Master of Lovat, (afterwards General Fraser,) Colonel of the Fraser regiment, was not present at the battle; but having gone to his father's country, which is near Inverness, to bring up the men wanted to complete his regiment, (to which a second battalion had been added,) he was coming up with 300 men; and when half-way between Inverness and Culloden, he met the Highlanders flying from the field.

and carried him off in their arms. When the Macdonalds regiment retreated, without having attempted to attack sword in hand, Macdonald of Keppoch advanced with his drawn sword in one hand, and his pistol in the other; he had got but a little way from his regiment, when he was wounded by a musket shot, and fell. A friend who had followed, conjuring him not to throw his life away, said that the wound was not mortal, that he might easily join his regiment, and retreat with them. Keppoch desired him to take care of himself, and going on, received another shot, and fell to rise no more.

When Charles saw the Highlanders repulsed and flying, which he had never seen before, he advanced, it is said, to go down and rally them. But the earnest entreaties of his tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and others, who assured him that it was impossible, prevailed upon him to leave the field.*

* The persons who attended Charles on the day of battle did not agree exactly in their accounts of what passed: most of them (some of whom are still alive,) gave the same account that is given above. But the cornet who carried the standard of the second troop of horse-guards, has left a paper, signed with his name, in which he says, that the entreaties of Sir Thomas Sheridan and his other friends would have been in vain, if General Sullivan had not laid hold of the bridle of Charles's horse, and turned him about. To witness this, says the cornet, I summon mine eyes.

Charles, when he left the field, was attended by a good many horse, besides the two troops formerly mentioned; and crossing the river of Nairn, at a ford called Falie, which is about three miles from the field of battle, he halted for some time on the south side of the river, and there he dismissed the two troops of horse, with most of his attendants, desiring them to go to Ruthven,* where they should receive further orders. From Falie, Charles, with several people, amongst whom were Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sullivan, O'Neil, and Hay, set out for Gorthleek, where Lord Lovat was, and arrived there about sunset. Lord Lovat, who had never seen Charles before, received him with great respect, kneeling and kissing his hand. After a good deal of conversation, they had some supper; and Charles, having changed his dress, left Gorthleek about ten o'clock; and travelling all night, arrived next morning at Invergarie, near Fort Augustus.

* Andrew Lumisden, (author of that most excellent treatise, entitled Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome,) had attended Charles during the whole time of the battle of Culloden, and was one of those that went to Ruthven. He says, that a messenger from Charles came to them next day, thanking them for their attachment to him, and the bravery they had shewn upon every occasion; but, at the same time, desiring them to do what they thought was best for their own preservation, till a more favourable opportunity of acting presented itself.

At Invergarie all the company took leave of Charles, except Sullivan, O'Neil, and one Burke, (Alexander Macleod's servant,) who, knowing the country, was kept as their guide. With them Charles went to Locharkaig in Lochaber, and from that to Glenbeisdale, where he staid a day or two; and John Hay came to him there, with a message from Lord George Murray, to entreat that he would not leave Scotland, as Lord George had heard that he intended. Charles told Hay, that he was resolved to go to France, and hoped to return very soon with a powerful reinforcement, which he had no doubt of obtaining. Charles then gave Hay a paper, written and signed by himself, containing an account of his design, to be shewn to his friends, but not for a certain number of days after he had set out for the Long Island,* where he expected to find a ship that would carry him to France.

From Glenbeisdale Charles went to Boradale, the place where he landed when he came first to

* The Long Island which lies due west of Scotland, consists of a number of islands extending about 130 miles from south to north; and when seen from either of these points, they seem to be one island, which in reality they are not, being separated by the sea in more than one place. The most southern of these islands is called Barra, the next South Uist, then Benbecula, North Uist, Harris, and Lewis, which is the largest and most northern.

the Highlands; and Macdonald of Boradale having procured him a boat with eight oars, he embarked at Lochnanuagh for the Long Island in the evening of the 26th of April.

The boat was crowded; for, besides Charles Sullivan, O'Neil, and Burke, there were other ten people, including the pilot and boatmen. They had not gone a great way when it grew very dark, and a storm arose, which the sailors said was the greatest they had ever seen before. The storm of wind and rain continued all night. When daylight came, they perceived that they were upon the coast of the Long Island, and about seven o'clock in the morning, they, with great difficulty, landed at Rossinish, in Benbecula. The storm still continuing, they were kept by the weather two days in a miserable hut, where Charles, and the people with him, had nothing to subsist upon but oatmeal and water.* On the third day they left Benbecula, intending to proceed to Stornoway, a seaport in the island of Lewis, where Charles was told he might hire a vessel to carry him to France; but another storm arising, the boat was obliged to put in at Glass, a small island near Harris. At Glass they were received by one Campbell, a farm-

* They had brought with them four pecks of oatmeal from Boradale.

er, who lent Donald Macleod* his boat, to carry him to Stornoway; and Macleod arriving there, hired a vessel, sending notice to Charles that he had done so. Charles immediately put to sea in his boat; but the wind proving contrary, he was obliged to land upon the island of Lewis, at a considerable distance from Stornoway; and, setting out on foot in a very dark rainy night, the guide lost his way, and Charles did not get to a house in the neighbourhood of Stornoway till 11 o'clock next day. Soon after he arrived, Macleod came to acquaint him that the master of the vessel, being informed for whom the ship was hired, refused to stand to his bargain. Charles, disappointed of a ship, determined to leave the Long Island; and, getting into the boat which brought him from Lochnanuagh, put off; and when the boat was a little way from the shore, he ordered the sailors to carry him to Bollein in Kintail, which they refused to do, saying, it was too long a voyage in an open boat. In the meantime, two large vessels appearing at a distance, they agreed to go southward, to the nearest land, which was a small island near Herris, called Issurt. There they landed; and looking at the ships, which were still in sight,

* Macleod was the pilot who steered the boat from Lochnanuagh.

Charles thought they were French, but every body* else thought they were English; and the boatmen could not be prevailed on to go off and see what they were. When the ships were out of sight, Charles determined to keep along the coast of the Long Island, till he should get to South Uist. Continuing his voyage along the coast of Harris, he had like to have been taken by a sloop of war which was lying in a harbour of that coast, and spied his boat; but before the sloop could get out of the harbour, the boatmen rowed off, and got into a small creek on the coast of North Uist. Charles, with his people, landed there, and remained for some days in a fisherman's hut, where they lived upon dried fish, which they found in the hut. Leaving North Uist, they proceeded to South Uist, where they arrived about the middle of May. Charles was then in want of every thing, and his health began to be affected. In this extremity he sent a message to Clan Ronald, proprietor of the greatest part of the island, acquainting him of his arrival, and of the condition he was in.—Clan Ronald came immediately, bringing with him some Spanish wines, provisions, shoes, and stockings; and sent back to his house for every

* These two ships are said to have been two French frigates which came to Lochnanuagh the day after Charles had left it, and landed some money, ammunition, and arms.

thing else that was wanted, which he had. Charles having remained a few days in the place where he landed, went to a part of the island, which is sixteen miles from the sea, and staid there two or three weeks in a house belonging to Clan Ronald, near the hill called Corodeal, which is in the centre of South Uist.

When Charles embarked at Lochnanuagh, his departure from that place was not known for some time at Inverness, the head-quarters* of the King's army; and when it was known, nobody could tell to what place he had gone. By and by, detachments of the troops were sent to every place where it was thought likely he himself, or any person of distinction who had served in his army, might be.—Among the officers who commanded these detachments were General Campbell, (afterwards Duke of Argyll,) and his son, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, the present Duke,† General Campbell, having under his command some sloops of war and transports with troops on board, landed at the island of

* The King's army remained in their camp at Inverness till the 22d May. On the 23d, the Duke of Cumberland marched from Inverness with Kingston's light horse, and three brigades of foot, and arrived at Fort Augustus on the 24th, leaving four regiments at Inverness, and sending several other regiments to different parts of the North of Scotland.

† Father of the present Duke, (1822.) He was alive at the time of the publication of the first edition of this work.

Barra, and other places, where he made a good many prisoners. From Barra the General sailed to St Kilda, where he landed a body of men; and having searched the island, he found no strangers there. From St Kilda he returned to Barra, where he determined to go to South Uist, and search the Long Island from south to north, as it was thought that Charles might yet be concealed in that wild country. When General Campbell came to South Uist, he found there a strong detachment of regular troops searching for Charles, and also the independent companies raised by Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Macleod of Macleod, which had been sent from Skye for the same purpose. The condition of Charles then seemed to be altogether desperate; a number of men in arms, said to be 1500 or 2000, were marching backwards and forwards through the Long Island in search of him; and the Long Island was surrounded on every side by cutters, sloops of war, frigates, and 40-gun-ships; a guard was posted at every one of the ferries; and nobody could get out of the island without a passport. In this perilous state Charles remained from the first week of June to the last; but, informed by the Islanders of every movement of the troops, he often passed and repassed them in the night, and his hair-breadth escapes were innumerable. From perils so imminent he was at last delivered by a young woman, moved with compassion, the

characteristic of womankind. Her name was Flora Macdonald, the daughter of Macdonald of Melton, in the Isle of South Uist. Her father had been dead some years; and her mother was married to a second husband, Macdonald of Armidale, in the island of Skye, who was eldest Captain of the Macdonald companies that were in South Uist. Miss Macdonald, who was related to Clan Ronald, had come to visit his family at Ormaclade,* and was living with them when Colonel O'Neil came there; and talking of the distress of Charles, whom he had constantly attended† since he came to the Long Island, Miss Macdonald listened, and expressed the most earnest desire to see Charles; saying to the Colonel, that if she could be of the smallest service in preserving him from his enemies, she would with all her heart. Colonel O'Neil said that she could be of the greatest service, if she would take him with her to Skye, as her maid, dressed in woman's clothes. Miss Macdonald thought the proposal fantastical and dangerous, and positively refused to agree to it. Soon after this conversation, Colonel O'Neil brought Charles

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* Clan Ronald's house in the Island of South Uist.

† When Charles went to the house near Corodeal, Sullivan, not being able to travel so far on foot, was left behind; and Colonel O'Neil, for some time, was the only person who attended Charles.

to the place where Miss Macdonald was. Charles seemed to be in bad health; he was thin and emaciated, but possessed a degree of cheerfulness* incredible to all but such as saw him then. Miss Macdonald, seeing him in this condition, instantly agreed to conduct him to the Isle of Skye, in the manner Colonel O'Neil had proposed; and set out for Clan Ronald's house, to provide every thing that was necessary for the voyage to Skye. From her step-father, who commanded the Macdonald militia in South Uist,† she procured a passport for herself, a man-servant, and her maid, who, in the passport, was called Betty Burke, and recommended by Captain Macdonald to his wife, as an excellent spinner of flax, and a most faithful servant. A boat with six oars was also provided. The evening before they left South Uist, Charles, dressed in womens clothes, and attended by Colonel O'Neil,‡ met Miss Macdonald and Lady Clan-Ronald at a place on the sea-side, about a mile from Ormaclade. The Lady had ordered some

* The words of Miss Macdonald. Appendix, No. 45.

† At that time the independent companies, and all other companies of men in arms, (the regular troops excepted,) were called militia.

‡ Colonel O'Neil was very desirous of going to Skye with Charles, but Miss Macdonald, who had a passport only for three persons, would not agree to it.

victuals to be brought; and while they were at supper by the sea-side, a messenger came to acquaint Lady Clan Ronald, that General Campbell and Captain Ferguson of the navy, with a number of soldiers and marines, were come to her house in quest of Charles. Lady Clan Ronald immediately left them, and went home. Soon after her departure, four armed cutters appeared, sailing along the coast, at some distance from them. They thought it better to skulk, and conceal themselves among the rocks, than to run away. They did so; and the cutters kept on without taking any notice of them. When the vessels were out of sight, they embarked about 8 o'clock in the evening, and the weather being fair, and the wind favourable, they were very near the point of Waternish in the Isle of Skye, when a party of the Macleod militia stationed there, seeing the boat, levelled their pieces, and called to the boatmen to land, or they would fire upon them. But the boatmen continued their course, and the tide being out, got away before the Macleods could launch a boat to pursue them. From Waternish they proceeded to Kilbride in Skye, and landed near Mugstot, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald. Miss Macdonald, leaving Charles at a little distance from the house, went to Mugstot: Sir Alexander was not at home; but Miss Flora disclosed the secret to Lady Margaret Macdonald, and told her where she had left Charles.

Lady Margaret was greatly alarmed, for several officers of the King's troops were in the house. Lady Margaret communicated what she had heard from Miss Macdonald, to Macdonald of Kingsburgh, Sir Alexander's factor; and telling him where Charles was, desired that he would conduct him to his house, and take charge of him. Miss Macdonald, having dined with Lady Margaret, set out on horseback, attended by Maceehin, the servant who had come from Uist to Skye in the boat with them; and overtaking Charles and Kingsburgh, who were on foot, rode on before them to Kingsburgh's house, where they lodged that night. Next morning Charles went with Kingsburgh to a hill near his house; and Kingsburgh having a bundle of clothes under his arm, Charles changed his dress, and put on mens clothes. From Kingsburgh's they went to Port-Ree,* opposite to the small island of Rasay, which is but five or six miles from Skye. Kingsburgh, thinking that Rasay, where there were no troops of any sort, was the safest place for Charles, intended that he should go there; and had sent a message to acquaint Macleod of Rasay of his intention. Rasay was not at

* Port-Ree, or Rey, (King's Port,) so called from James V., who had been there in his navigation round the islands belonging to his kingdom. At Port-Ree, Miss Macdonald left Charles, and never saw him again.

ome,* but two of his sons came in their boat, and carried Charles to the island. As there were no troops in Rasay, the place was safe enough for Charles, but by no means a comfortable abode; for Rasay and his people having been concerned in the rebellion, a detachment of the King's army had been sent to the island, which they laid waste, carrying off the cattle and burning the houses; so that Charles and Rasay's sons were obliged to live in a cow-house, where they were very badly accommodated in every respect. Charles resolved to return to Skye; and Rasay's sons, with a Captain Macleod, who was their relation, and had commanded a company in the rebel army, carried him back to Skye in their boat. Soon after they landed, Charles took leave of Rasay's sons; and giving young Rasay a case, which contained a silver spoon, knife and fork, desired him to keep it till they met again: then turning to Captain Macleod, said, Follow me.†

* Rasay came to Perth with his men in the month of November, while the rebel army was in England, and remained there till Charles and his army returned to Scotland. When the order, (which has been mentioned,) was sent from Glasgow to the forces at Perth, to march immediately and join the army from England at Stirling, Rasay and his men marched with the rest, and joining the army commanded by Charles, made a part of the Glengary Regiment at the battle of Falkirk, and also at the battle of Culloden.

† Charles, from the beginning to the end of his wanderings,

They walked on about a mile without speaking one word. At last the Captain said, he hoped His Royal Highness would forgive him for asking where he intended to go. Charles answered, "I commit myself entirely to you. Carry me to Mackinnon's bounds in Skye."* They then changed clothes; and, that Charles might appear the servant, he carried, as long as daylight lasted, a small bundle over his shoulder. They travelled all night, and in the morning came to the house of Captain John Mackinnon, who had been an officer in the rebel army. As they were very near the Laird of Mackinnon's house, Captain Mackinnon went there, and informed his Chief that the Prince was upon the island, and desired to have a boat to carry him to the main land. Mackinnon came immediately with his own boat, in which Charles, Mackinnon, and Captain Mackinnon, embarking at a place called Ellagol in Skye, sailed to Lochnevis, a lake in the main land, where Charles was put ashore on the 5th of July.

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never told the people whom he left whither he was going; nor those to whom he came, whence he had come.

* Sir Alexander Macdonald, Macleod of Macleod, and Mackinnon, were then the sole proprietors of the Isle of Skye. The two former had joined the King's troops; Mackinnon of Mackinnon, being old and infirm, staid at home; but his men joined the rebel army.

As the country on both sides of Lochnevis had been the cradle of the rebellion, a great many detachments of the King's troops were sent there after the battle of Culloden. The officers who commanded these troops, having received notice that Charles had landed at Lochnevis, formed a line of posts from Lochuren to Lochnevis, and from that to Lochshiel, to shut him in, being certain that he was on one or other of the promontories to the west of that line. Charles having made his way from Lochnevis to Boradale, sent one* of Macdonald's sons for Macdonald of Glenaladale, to desire that he would come to him as soon as he could. Glenaladale came immediately, and brought with him another Macdonald, who had been an officer in the French service, and had come over to Scotland after the rebellion broke out. The two Macdonalds consulting with Charles, resolved to attempt bringing him through the line of posts. Along this line centinels were placed so near one another in the day-time, that nobody could pass without being seen; and when it began to grow dark, fires were lighted at every post, and the centinels crossed continually from one fire to another, so that there was a time when both their backs being turned, a person might pass unseen. Between two of these

* Boradale is about twelve miles from Lochnevis.

fires, there was a small brook which had worn a channel among the rocks. Up the channel of this brook Charles and the two Macdonalds crept; and, watching their opportunity, passed between the centinels. After having crossed the line of posts, Glenaladale, thinking the West Highlands a very unsafe place for Charles, resolved to conduct him to the Ross-shire Highlands, amongst those Mackenzies who had remained loyal, and therefore were not visited with troops. These Mackenzies, Glenaladale thought, would not betray Charles; and the person whom he had pitched upon to confide in was Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul. Charles and his attendants, setting out for Ross-shire on foot, suffered greatly in their journey from want of provisions; and when they came to the Braes of Kintail, inhabited by the Macraws, a barbarous people, among whom there are but few gentlemen, necessity obliged them to call at the house of one Christopher Macraw. Glenaladale, leaving Charles and the French officer at some distance, went to Macraw's house, and told him that he and two of his friends were like to perish for want of food, and desired him to furnish them with some victuals, for which they would pay. Macraw insisted upon knowing who his two friends were, which Glenaladale seemed unwilling to tell. Macraw still insisted, and Glenaladale told him at last, that it was young Clan Ronald, and a relation of his,

Notwithstanding the consequence of the persons, Macraw, though rich for an ordinary Highlander, made Glenaladale pay very dear for some provisions he gave him. Having received the money, he grew better humoured, and desired Glenaladale and the other two to pass the night in his house, which they did. In the course of the conversation they talked of the times, and Macraw exclaimed against the Highlanders who had taken arms with Charles, and said, that they and those who still protected him were fools and madmen; that they ought to deliver themselves and their country from distress, by giving him up, and taking the reward which government had offered. That night a Macdonald who had been in the rebel army came to Macraw's house. At first sight he knew Charles, and took an opportunity of warning Glenaladale to take care that Christopher should not discover the quality of his guest. Glenaladale desired this man, who seemed so friendly, and so prudent, to give him his opinion, as he had traversed the country, what he thought was the safest place for Charles, mentioning at the same time his scheme of carrying him to the country of the Mackenzies, which Macdonald did not approve, saying, there were some troops got among the Mackenzies, and that he thought their country was in no respect safe; but that he had passed the former night in

the great hill Corado, which lies between Kintail and Glenmoriston. That in the most remote part of that hill, called Coramhian, there lived seven men upon whom the Prince might absolutely depend, for they were brave and faithful, and most of them had been in his army. As Charles wished to get nearer Lochaber and Badenoch, where Lochiel and Cluny were, he resolved to go to Coramhian. Next morning he and his attendants set out, taking Macdonald for their guide, who conducted them to the wildest and most craggy part of the mountain. When they came near the haunt of the seven men, who had neither house nor hut, but lived in a cave of the rock, Glenaladale, and Macdonald the guide, leaving Charles and the French officer, went to the cave, where they found six of the seven together, who had killed a sheep that day, and were at dinner. Glenaladale said, he was glad to see them so well provided. They told him he was very welcome to share with them. Glenaladale said he had a friend of his, another person with him, for whom he must beg the same favour. They asked who his friend was: he answered that it was his Chief, young Clan Ronald. Nobody could be more welcome, they said, than young Clan Ronald; that they would purchase food for him at the point of their swords. Glenaladale went back for Charles and the French officer. When Charles came near, they knew him, and fell upon their knees. Charles

was then in great distress. He had a bonnet on his head, a wretched yellow wig, and a clouted handkerchief about his neck. He had a coat of coarse dark-coloured cloth, a Stirling tartan waistcoat, much worn, a pretty good belted plaid, tartan hose, and Highland brogues, tied with thongs, so much worn that they would scarcely stick upon his feet. His shirt, (and he had not another,) was of the colour of saffron.* With these people Charles stayed some time, and they very soon provided him with clean linen; for a detachment of the King's army, commanded by Lord George Sackville, being ordered to march from Fort Augustus to Strathglass, the attendants of Charles were informed of it, and, knowing that the detachment must pass at no great distance from their habitation, they resolved to place themselves between two hills near the road to Strathglass. The detachment passed, and some officers' servants, following at a consider-

* Condition of Charles as described by Hugh Chisholm (one of the six who were in the cave of the rock when Charles came there.) Chisholm was at Edinburgh a good many years after the rebellion. Several people had the curiosity to see him and hear his story. Some of them gave him money. He shook hands with his benefactors, and hoped they would excuse him for giving them his left hand, as, when he parted with the Prince, he got a shake of his hand, and was resolved never to give his right hand to any man till he saw the Prince again.

able distance, the Highlanders fired at them, and seized some portmanteaus, in which they found every thing that Charles stood in need of.

As Fort Augustus is only eight computed miles from Coramhian, the attendants of Charles used to go there frequently in the night-time, and, procuring what intelligence they could from the inhabitants of the village, sometimes brought back with them the newspapers. Meanwhile Charles became anxious to hear of Lochiel and Cluny, and dispatched Peter Grant (one of the most active of the seven) to Lochaber, to find out some of the gentlemen of the name of Cameron, and let him know that he wished to come amongst them. Grant went to Lochaber, and found Cameron of Clunes, who agreed to meet Charles on a certain day at a place near the head of Glencoich, where Clunes had a little hut in a secret place for his own security. Charles, having received this notice, set out with all* his attendants in a very stormy night, and,

* Charles stayed in the cave with these men five weeks and three days. During this long abode, either thinking he would be safer with gentlemen than with common fellows of a loose character, or desirous of better company, he told Glenaladale that he intended to put himself into the hands of some of the neighbouring gentlemen; and desired him to inquire about them, and learn who was the most proper person for him to apply to. Glenaladale, talking with the Highlanders about the gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and inquiring into their

travelling along the tops of mountains, reached Drumnadial, a high mountain on the side of Lochlochie, which commands an extensive view of the country. There they rested all day, and Grant was dispatched again to see if Clunes had come to the place appointed. Charles and his attendants remained upon the hill, but as they had no provisions, and durst not stir by day, they were in great distress for want of food. Grant, returning, said, he had been at the hut, but Clunes was not there, for, having come to the place at the appointed time, and not finding Charles, he had gone away again; but Grant, in his way back, had met a herd of deer, one of which he killed, and secured in a concealed place. At night they set out, not for Clunes's hut, but for the place where the deer was lodged, which, to their great relief, they found. In the morning another messenger was sent to find out Clunes, who, with his three sons, came immediately. The

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character, they guessed from his questions what was the intention of Charles, and conjured him to dissuade the Prince from it, saying, that no reward could be any temptation to them, for if they betrayed their Prince, they must leave their country, as nobody would speak to them, except to curse them; whereas L.30,000 was a great reward to a poor gentleman, who could go to Edinburgh or London with his money, where he would find people enough to live with him, and eat his meat, and drink his wine.

Glenmoriston men committing Charles to the care of the Clunes, left him, all of them except Hugh Chisholm and Peter Grant, who remained with him for some time. Clunes then informed Charles, that all the ferries of the rivers and lakes were so strictly guarded, that it was impossible for him at present to get to the countries of Rannoch and Badenoch, where Lochiel and Cluny were; and that it was absolutely necessary he should remain where he was, till the vigilance of the guards abated. Clunes had a small hut in a wood near the place where they were: Charles and he, when there was no appearance of troops in the neighbourhood, and the weather was cold or wet, used to come down from the mountain, and pass the night in this hut; but when there seemed to be danger, and the weather was moderate, they used to remain all night upon the mountain. In this situation Charles was, when Lochiel and Cluny, concluding that he must be to the northward of the lakes, and in no small degree of distress and danger, sent Macdonald of Lochgary, and Dr Cameron (Lochiel's brother) to learn what they could concerning him. These messengers, well acquainted with the passes, made their way to the north sides of the lake, and very soon met with Clunes, who told them that he would conduct them to Charles, who was at no great distance. Charles was then on the mountain with one of Clunes's sons and Peter Grant. Charles

and Cameron were asleep, and Grant had the watch, but, nodding for some time, Clunes, Lochgary, and Dr Cameron, with two servants, were pretty near before he observed them. He flew to Charles, awaked him and his companion. Cameron and Grant proposed to make what haste they could to the top of the mountain. Charles was of a contrary opinion. He said that it was in vain to fly; that their enemies, who he thought were Argyllshire men, would overtake them, or come so near as to kill them with their fire-arms; that the best thing they could do, was to get behind the stones, take aim, and fire upon them when they advanced; that as Grant and he were excellent marksmen, they would certainly do some execution; and that he had in reserve a pair of pocket pistols, which he produced for the first time. When the company that had alarmed them came a little nearer, they distinguished Clunes, which assured them that the rest were friends. Holding a council together, to consider what was best to be done, Lochgary and Dr Cameron thought it was still too hazardous for Charles to attempt the ferries, and advised him to remain with Clunes as before. It was then agreed that Dr Cameron should go amongst his brother's people in Lochaber, to procure intelligence, and that Lochgary should go to the east end of Lochlochie, and remain upon the isthmus, between the lakes, to watch the motions

of the troops. This plan being settled, they separated; but notice having been given to the King's troops that Charles, or some of the absconding chiefs, were in the neighbourhood, one day Charles, having passed the night on the mountain with one of Clunes's sons and Peter Grant, when they looked down on the vale after sun-rise, they saw a number of men in arms demolishing their hut, and searching the adjacent woods. Charles and his attendants, to conceal their flight, availed themselves of the channel of a torrent which the winter rains had worn in the face of the hill, and, ascending the mountain without being seen, travelled to another mountain called Malleutegart, which is prodigiously high, steep, and craggy. There they remained all day without a morsel of food. In the evening another son of Clunes came, and told them that his father would meet them at a certain place in the hills somewhat distant, with provisions. Clunes's son returned to let his father know that he might expect them. At night Charles with his attendants set out, and travelled through most dreadful ways, passing amongst rocks and stumps of trees, which tore their clothes and limbs. At one time the guides proposed they should halt and stay all night; but Charles, though exhausted to the greatest degree, insisted on going to meet Clunes. At last, worn out with fatigue and want of food, he was not able to go on without help; and

the two guides, holding each of them one of his arms, supported him through the last part of this laborious journey. When they came to the place appointed, they found Clunes and his son, who had a cow killed, and part of it dressed for them. In this remote place Charles remained with Clunes till Lochgary and Dr Cameron came there, who informed him that the passes were not so strictly guarded now as formerly, and that he might safely cross Locharkaig, and get to the great fir wood belonging to Lochiel, on the west side of the lake, where he might stay, and correspond with Lochiel and Cluny, till it was settled when and where he should meet them.

Charles crossed Locharkaig, and remained in the fir wood near Achnacarry, till he received a message from Lochiel and Cluny, acquainting him that they were in Badenoch, and that Cluny would meet him on a certain day at Achnacarry, and conduct him to their habitation, which they thought was the safest place for him.

Charles, impatient to see his friends, did not wait for Cluny's coming, but set out with guides for Badenoch, and arrived at a place called Corineuir, on the 29th of August. From that he went to Mellanauir, where he met with Lochiel, and remained with him till Cluny, returning from Achnacarry, joined them. The two Chiefs then con-

ducted Charles to a bothie or hut, called *Uisk Chibra*, where they lodged a day or two, and then removed to Letternilik, a remote place in the great mountain Benalder, belonging to Cluny, where a habitation, called the Cage, was fitted up by Cluny,* in which Lochiel and he had lived some time. Charles stayed there with them till the 13th of September, when a message came from Cameron of Clunes, to acquaint him that two French frigates were arrived at Lochnanuagh, near Boradale, to carry him to France. Charles set out immediately, and, travelling only by night, arrived at Boradale on the 19th of September. Notice of the arrival of two ships from France had been given to most of those people who had been concerned in the rebellion, and were skulking in the neighbourhood, so that a great many of them came to Boradale, and about 100 (among whom were Lochiel and Colonel Roy Stuart) embarked with Charles on the 20th, and landed at Roscort near Morlaix, in Britanny, on the 29th of September.

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* An account of that extraordinary habitation, dictated by Cluny, has been preserved.—Appendix, No. 46.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

LETTER *from the* OLD PRETENDER, *addressed to* Mr JOHNSTONE, Junior, *that is,* Young LOCHIEL.

April 11, 1727.

I AM glad of this occasion to let you know how well pleased I am to hear of the care you take to follow your father's and uncle's example in their loyalty to me; and I doubt not of your endeavours to maintain the true spirit in the clan. Allan is now with me, and I am always glad to have some of my brave Highlanders about me, whom I value as they deserve. You will deliver the inclosed to its address, and doubt not of my particular regard for you, which, I am persuaded, you will always deserve.

(Signed) JAMES, *R.*

You will tell Mr Maclachlan, that I am very sensible of his zeal for my service.

No. II.

LETTER *from* ALLAN CAMERON *to his Nephew*, Young LOCHIEL.

DEAR NEPHEW, *Albano, Oct.* 3, 1729.

YOURS, of September 11th, came to my hand in due time, which I took upon me to shew his Majesty, who not only was pleased to say, that you wrote with a great deal of zeal and good sense, but was so gracious and good as to write you a letter with his own hand, herewith sent you, wherein he gives full and ample powers to treat with such of his friends in Scotland as you think are safe to be trusted in what concerns his affairs, until an opportunity offers for executing any reasonable project towards a happy restoration, which they cannot expect to know until matters be entirely ripe for execution, and of which they will be acquainted directly from himself; and, therefore, whatever they have to say at any time, either by you, by the power given you by the King's letter, or by any other person, the account is to be sent to his Majesty directly, and not to any second hand, as the King has wrote to you in his letter. Dear nephew, now that his Majesty has honoured you with such a commission, and gracious letter, concerning

yourself and family, and that he has conceived so good an opinion of your good sense and prudence, I hope this, your first appearance, by the King's authority, will answer the trust he has been pleased to put in your loyalty, zeal, and good conduct, of which I have no reason to fear or doubt, considering the step you have already made. By executing this commission with prudence and caution, depend on it you have an opportunity of serving the King to good purpose, which in time will redound to the prosperity of your friends and family. I need say no more on this head, since you will see by the King's letter fully the occasion you have of serving his Majesty, your country, and yourself. But as I am afraid you will have difficulty to read it, his hand not being easy to those who are not well acquainted with it, the substance of it is, that he would not let you go without shewing you how sensible he is of your zeal and affection to his interest and service; that Scotland, in general, when it is in his power (hoping that happy time will one day come,) shall reap the fruits of the constant loyalty of his friends there; that you represent to them to keep themselves in readiness, not knowing how soon there may be occasion for their service; but that they take special care not to give a handle to the present government to ruin them, by exposing themselves to its fury by an unreasonable or imprudent action; for that they shall have his Ma-

jesty's orders directly, when it is proper; and recommends entire union among yourselves in general; and towards the end of the letter, he is pleased to make yourself and family particular promise of his favour, when it please God he is restored; and while he is abroad, all that is in his power. I hope this hint of the meaning of the letter will enable you, by taking some pains, to read it through. It being wrote in the King's own hand, there was no occasion for signing it.

I think it proper you should write to the King by the first post after you receive his letter. I need not advise you what to say in answer to such a gracious letter from your King, only let it not be very long. Declare your duty and readiness to execute his Majesty's commands on all occasions, and your sense of the honour he has been pleased to do you, in giving you such a commission. I am not to chuse words for you, because I am sure you can express yourself in a dutiful and discreet manner, without any help. You are to write, sir, on a large margin, and to end, Your most faithful and obedient subject and servant; and to address it, To the King, and no more; which inclose to me sealed. I pray send me the copy of it on a paper inclosed, with any other thing that you do not think fit or needful the King should see in your letter to me; because I will shew your letter in answer to this, wherein you may say that you will be mind-

ful of all I wrote to you, and what else you think fit.

This letter is so long, that I must take the occasion of the next post to write you concerning my own family; but the King, as well as Mr Hay, bid me assure you, that your father should never be in any more straits, as long as he, the King, lived; and that he would take care from time to time to remit him; so that I hope you may be pretty easy as to that point.

I must tell you, that what you touched on in your letter to me of the 14th August, concerning those you saw there live so well, beyond what they could have done at home, they must have been provided for some other way than out of the King's pocket; and, depend on it, some others have thought themselves obliged to supply them.

You are to assure yourself and others, that the King has determined to make Scotland happy, and the clans in particular, when it pleases God to restore him. This is consistent with my certain knowledge. You are only to touch upon this in a discreet way, and to a very few discreet persons; but all these matters I leave to your own good sense and prudence, for you may be sure there are people who will give account of your behaviour after you return home; but I hope none will be able to do it to your disadvantage. Keep always to the

truth in what you inform the King, and that will stand; though even on the truth itself, you are to put the handsomest gloss you can on some occasions.

You are to keep in good terms with Glengary, and all other neighbours, and let by-gones be by-gones, as long as they continue firm to the King's interest; let no private animosity take place, but see to gain them with courtesy and good management, which I hope will give you an opportunity to make a figure amongst them; not but you are to tell the truth, if any of them fail in their duty to the King or country.

As to Lovat, pray be always on your guard, but not so as to lose him; on the contrary, you may say that the King trusts a great deal to the resolution he has taken to serve him; and expects he will continue in that resolution. But, dear nephew, you know very well that he must give true and real proof of his sincerity, by performance, before he can be entirely reckoned on, after the part he has acted. This I say to yourself, and therefore you must deal with him very dexterously; and I must leave it to your own judgment what lengths to go with him, since you know he has always been a man whose chief view was his own interest. It is true he wishes our family well; and I doubt not he would wish the King restored, which is his interest, if he has the grace to have a hand in it, after what

he has done. So, upon the whole, I know not what advice to give you, as to letting him know that the King wrote you such a letter as you have; but, in general, you are to make the best of him you can, but still be on your guard; for it is not good to put too much in his power before the time of executing a good design. The King knows very well how useful he can be if sincere, which I have represented as fully as was necessary.

This letter is of such bulk, that I have inclosed the King's letter under cover with another letter addressed for your father, as I will not take leave of you till next post. I add only, that I am entirely yours.

(Signed) A. CAMERON.

No. III.

LETTER *from the* OLD PRETENDER *to one of his Adherents in* SCOTLAND.

March 11th, 1743.

I RECEIVED a few days ago yours of the 18th February, and am far from disapproving your coming into France at this time. The settling a correspondence betwixt us on this side of the sea and our friends in Scotland, may be of consequence in this juncture. I hope you will have concerted some safe method for that effect with Lord Semple,

before you leave him; and that once determined, you will, I think, have done very well to return home, where you may be of more use than abroad. I shall say nothing here of what is passing in France, of which you will have been informed by Lord Semple; and you may be well assured, that I shall neglect nothing that depends on me to induce the French to assist us, as it is reasonable to hope they will, if there be a general war. But if they ever undertake any thing in my favour, I shall, to be sure, have some little warning of it before; but that may be so short that I fear it will be impossible that General Keith can come in time to Scotland, how much soever both I, and I am persuaded he himself also desires it; because you will easily see that one of his rank and distinction cannot well quit the service he is in, either abruptly or upon an uncertainty. I remark all you say on that subject; and when the time comes, it shall be my care to dispose all such matters as much as in me lies, for what I may then think the real good of my service, and the satisfaction of my friends; for in such particulars, it is scarce possible to take proper resolutions before the time of execution. I had some time ago a proposal made to me in relation to the seizing of Stirling Castle. What I then heard, and what you now say on that subject, is so general, that I think it is not impossible but that the two proposals may be found originally one and

the same project. I wish, therefore, you would enter a little more into particulars, that I may be the better able to determine what directions to send. As to what is represented about the vassals, I suppose what you mean is the same as what I have inserted in a draught of a declaration for Scotland I have long had by me, viz. That the vassals of those who should appear against my forces, on a landing, should be freed of their vassalage, and hold their lands immediately of the crown, provided such vassals should declare for me, and join heartily in my cause. As this is my intention, I allow my friends to make such prudent use of it as they may think fit. Before you get this you will probably have received what was wrote to you from hence about the Scotch Episcopal Clergy; so that I need say nothing on that subject here, more than that I hope the steps taken by me will give satisfaction, and promote union in that body. It is a great comfort to me to see the gentlemen of the concert so zealous, so united, and so frank in all that relates to my service; and I desire you will say all that is kind to them in my name. I remark you have advanced 100*l.* of your own money for Sir J. E. which I take very well of you; but I must desire you will not give me any more proofs of that kind of your good will towards me; and as for what is past, I look upon it as a personal debt,

and shall take care that it be repaid. I remark what you say about the difficulty there is of raising money. I foresaw that would be no easy matter, and I think it should not be insisted upon. I think I have now taken notice of all that required any answer, in what you wrote to me and Morgan; and shall add nothing further here, but to assure you of the continuance of my good opinion of you, and that your prudent and zealous endeavours to forward my service shall never be forgot by me.

No. IV.

ANSWERS *to some* QUERIES *sent to a Person in* SCOTLAND, *by the* PRETENDER, *or some of the People about him.*

Edinburgh, Jan. 8th, 1736.

ANSWER I. The leading men amongst the loyalists are much diminished; and the severity of the times obliging most people to disguise their sentiments, it is hard, at this juncture, to make any condescendence who would make an appearance upon a proper opportunity; nor can that easily be penetrated into, except by a man of approven zeal and integrity, vested with a public character for that purpose.

The country party, that makes such a bustle, have probably very little loyalty joined to their discontent, most of them being people of avowed opposite principles; and though the miserable situation of the country, both at home and abroad, ought to have produced a change, and roused the ancient spirit of liberty, yet that it has done, it is uncertain; therefore, the safest conclusion, though perhaps not the most just, is, that they want more to change the minister than the master.

II. It is to be presumed, that most of those concerned in the last rebellion, being almost superannuated, would rather wish well to than engage again in the cause.

III. The most leading men, and most esteemed amongst the clans, that I know of, are Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Cameron of Lochiel.

IV. The young Highlanders do not know the use of arms so well as the old; but they bear a deep resentment against the authors of such a great difference betwixt them and their forefathers.

V. The Cameronians are very well armed, and regularly regimented amongst themselves; but then they are so giddy and inconstant that they cannot be depended upon, not knowing what they would be at, only they are strongly enraged against the present Government.

VI. A native seems preferable to a foreign commander; but to name the person would be abundantly too presumptuous for any one in my sphere.

[These papers, all of them previous to the last rebellion, are copied from the originals, now belonging to Cameron of Fassefern, Lochiel's nephew.]

CORRESPONDENCE between the Marquis of TWEEDALE, Secretary of State, and Lord MILTON, Justice Clerk, from the first surmise of a Rebellion.

No. V.

LETTER *from the Marquis of* TWEEDALE *to Lord* MILTON.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, July 30th, 1745.*

THIS day there have been communicated to the Lords Justices several informations, importing, that the French Court was meditating an invasion of his Majesty's dominions, and that the Pretender's son had sailed on the 15th instant, N.S. from Nantes, on board a French man-of-war; and by some accounts it was said, that he was actually landed in Scotland; which last part I can hardly believe, not having had the least account of it from any of his Majesty's servants in Scotland.

Your Lordship will easily judge how necessary it is for all his Majesty's servants to keep a strict look out; and it has been recommended to me by the Lords Justices, that I should give you an account of this intelligence, that you may consult with the rest of his Majesty's servants, and concert what is proper to be done, in case of such an attempt taking place. You will likewise give the necessary orders for making the strictest inquiry into the subject matter of this intelligence (copies of which I have sent to the Lord Advocate,) and transmit to me some constant accounts of any discovery you shall make.

I was very glad to find by your Lordship's, of the 24th June, that you was persuaded the new Highland regiment, commanded by the Earl of Loudon, would be soon completed, and with good men, since it will be an additional strength to his Majesty's friends at this juncture. I have wrote to the Lord Advocate, and Sir John Cope, on this subject. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble servant,

TWEEDALE.

No. VI.

Lord MILTON'S *Answer.*

MY LORD, *Roseneath, Aug. 4th,* 1745.

THIS moment I have the honour of your Lordship's, of the 30th July, communicating to me the intelligence which the Lords Justices had received, and your Lordship is pleased to recommend to me to give the necessary orders for making the strictest inquiry into the subject matter of the intelligence.

Ever since the battle of Fontenoy I have been dreading an invasion; and I am sorry to find by your Lordship's, that there is so great reason to apprehend one to be so near at hand, while we continue so ill provided to resist any powerful attempt. Meantime I am glad to acquaint your Lordship, that I do not yet hear any surmise of the Pretender's son having landed.

I am thus far in my way to Inverary, in the West Highlands; and as most part of the disaffected Highlands lies not above thirty or forty miles to the north of Inverary, I believe I shall have very early intelligence of what is a-doing, which I

shall communicate to your Lordship, and his Majesty's servants.

If the intelligence about the Pretender's son landing in Scotland with arms to his friends prove true, I fear he will be joined with numbers enough to make it very difficult for the small number of troops here to dislodge him; and I doubt much if he would adventure to land here without assurances both from France and Spain, of being powerfully supported. The surmised armament at Cadiz alarms several people here, and we fear we shall soon hear more of that kind from Dunkirk; but no doubt the Lords Justices have all possible intelligence from such suspected places.

As for my own part, I am always ready to do all in my little power for his Majesty's service, and the preservation of our all, and to consult and advise with his Majesty's servants. But it is too obvious that we civil officers can do little on such occasions, when superior force is on the other side. It is men, money, and ammunition; it is timeously and properly arming the King's friends and faithful subjects, that only can resist the enemies of the Government in time of an invasion; and even these may come too late, if a rebellion arises on a sudden. I hope my apprehensions carry my fears farther than our danger; but I own freely that I have long dreaded the consequences of an

attempt from France and Spain in the circumstances we have been in. I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient and most humble servant,
AND. FLETCHER.

No. VII.

LETTER—*Lord* MILTON *to the Marquis of* TWEEDALE.

MY LORD, *Roseneath, 7th August, 1745.*

I SEND your Lordship inclosed a copy of a letter I this moment received, by express, from Archibald Campbell of Stonefield, Sheriff-Depute of Argyll, inclosing a copy of a letter he received from Mr Campbell of Ards, to the Duke of Argyll's steward in Mull and Morvern, of which I send also an exact copy. Though it is possible this piece of intelligence may not be true, and that your Lordship may have earlier and better intelligence from others, yet I thought it of such importance, that I lost no time in transmitting it, by express, to Sir John Cope, and the Lord Advocate at Edinburgh, and have desired them to forward it, by express, to your Lordship.

I had the honour to write to your Lordship of the 4th instant, in answer to your commands of the 30th July, which I sent from this under cover to the Lord Advocate, and to which I beg leave to refer.

I am with the greatest respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most humble servant,
AND. FLETCHER.

P.S.—Arisarg is marked in the maps in the north-west of Scotland, between Moydart and Knodart, about sixty miles north of Inverary.

No. VIII.

LETTER—*Lord* MILTON *to the Marquis of* TWEEDALE.

MY LORD, *Roseneath, 10th August, 1745.*

THIS morning I have information from one that lives in Glencoe, and has connexions both in Lochaber and Glengary, that the Pretender's eldest son landed in Uist the first of this month; that the disaffected Highlanders expect every day to hear of a landing in England; money is sent to this person, who lives in Glencoe, to enable him to travel

northward, and get more sure intelligence of the designs, movements, and progress of these people. Since my last of the 7th, I have heard nothing further worth your Lordship's knowing. I have the honour to be, with great respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient and most
Humble servant,
AND. FLETCHER.

The information alluded to was communicated to Lord Milton in the following anonymous note:

"Prince Charles, the Chevalier's son, is landed in Uist eight days ago. General Macdonald is with him. I cannot give a true account what company they have, but it is surely believed by this time General Keith is in England, or on that coast. I must travel before I can give you any account of their progress or resolution; only what is narrated is truth. Let me understand if you want to keep the correspondence, per bearer."

No. IX.

LETTER—*Marquis of* TWEEDALE *to Lord* MILTON.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, August* 13, 1745.

I HAVE received yours of the 4th of August by the post, as also yours of the 7th from Roseneath by express, with the copy of the letter from Mr Campbell, which I this day laid before the Lords Justices. I likewise received at the same time a letter from Sir John Cope, containing intelligence of the like nature, which he received from the Lord President; and though, from these informations, it is not absolutely certain that the Pretender's eldest son is actually landed, yet they all confirm our former intelligence. Your Lordship will therefore easily judge, that we shall be very impatient till we hear again from Scotland, especially from your Lordship, as you happen at present to be so near the places the most disaffected in Scotland, and where it is most likely any insurrection will take its rise.

The Lords Justices are very well pleased that Sir John Cope had taken the resolution of marching directly with such troops as could be spared; and it is hoped he will be able to give a check to any sudden insurrection that may happen, especially as we have no accounts of any foreign troops

being landed; neither have we any intelligence, as yet, of any preparations made by the French at Dunkirk for that end. There are indeed accounts that mention some Spanish men-of-war being at Ferrol, which it is not impossible may be intended to give us disturbance in some port here.

Credit has been sent down by the Lords of the Treasury to Sir John Cope, for receiving money to answer the exigencies of the government in Scotland; and your Lordship may receive from him what money you may have occasion for, towards procuring intelligence or other necessary services at this juncture.

You may make my compliments to the Duke of Argyll, to whom I don't write, because I know the Duke of Newcastle is to inform him particularly of what is passing here.

I hope your Lordship, and others of his Majesty's servants, will make no scruple in issuing proper warrants for seizing, at this juncture, any persons that may reasonably be suspected of being engaged in treasonable practices against his Majesty's government, without waiting for orders from hence, which at present may perhaps come too late. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble servant,

TWEEDALE.

No. X.

LETTER—*Lord* MILTON *to the Marquis of* TWEEDALE.

MY LORD, *Brunstane, 20th August, 1745.*

SINCE I had the honour of last writing to your Lordship, I have, from different quarters, received intelligence confirming what I formerly wrote; and further, that the rebels had actually begun hostilities by taking prisoner a corporal and a soldier of the garrison of Fort William, with their guide, who were sent to Glenelg to get intelligence, and sent them to their head-quarters in Moydart; as also, that about thirty armed Highlanders have taken post on the King's highway, betwixt Fort William and Fort Augustus, where they stop all communication, and seize and search the passengers; and that in general the Highlanders, to the west of Fort William, continue busy arming, and send their emissaries over the whole Highlands, to stir up a general insurrection by threats and promises. The King's sloops from the Clyde are got the length of Mull, where every thing continues in peace and quiet; and I hope soon to hear of these sloops of war being of service; and by all I hear, it is probable that the French ship is gone

away, which will be a disadvantage to the rebels, as thereby they were supplied with provisions out of ships taken by that French vessel; and had also other apparent advantages.

I am,

Your Lordship's humble servant,

AND. FLETCHER.

No. XI.

LETTER *from the Marquis of* TWEEDALE *to Lord* MILTON.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, 22d August, 1745.*

THIS day I received your Lordship's by the messenger; and am very glad to find that Sir John Cope has begun his march, as I make no doubt that will entirely disconcert whatever may be intended by the disaffected, and prevent their gathering together into one body.

I am very glad to hear that the two sloops of war, directed by the Duke of Argyll to sail to the coast of Moydart, have proceeded so far as I think there is a probability that they may meet with the French ship.

I this day received a letter from Lord Harrington, by which he informs me, that he intended to

set out for England on the 17th; and I hope we shall have the happiness of seeing his Majesty soon.

Your Lordship will not fail to transmit to me, from time to time, whatever intelligence you may receive, as it may be for his Majesty's service at this juncture. I am, with great regard,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

TWEEDALE.

No. XII.

LETTER—*Marquis of* TWEEDALE *to Lord* MILTON.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, 24th August, 1745.*

THIS morning I received yours of the 20th inst., by express, by which you inform me of your having received intelligence that the rebels had actually begun hostilities, by taking a corporal and private soldier prisoners; as also, that thirty armed Highlanders had taken a post on the way betwixt Fort William and Fort Augustus. I always imagined, that if ever this affair became serious, the disaffected would endeavour to cut off the communica-

tion betwixt these forts and the Lowcountry; and therefore I have constantly pressed Sir John Cope to march without delay towards Fort Augustus.

It is likewise thought here, that should the disaffected retire into any place of the country, where there might be some difficulty to get at them with the regular troops, the three additional companies of Lord John Murray's regiment, and those raised by the Earl of Loudon, supported by a few regular troops, will be able soon to give a good account of them. The crushing this insurrection in the beginning, is of the utmost importance to his Majesty's service.

I make no doubt but that, when the King's troops arrive on the coast of Moydart, they will be of great service at this time. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble servant,

TWEEDALE.

P. S. I own I am surprised your Lordship is not more particular as to the young Pretender himself, since there are several letters in town, absolutely contradicting the accounts sent to the government here from Scotland, of his ever having landed there. I think it incumbent on all his Majesty's servants in that country, to use their utmost

diligence to sift to the bottom the truth of this particular.

No. XIII.

LETTER—*Lord* MILTON *to the Marquis of* TWEEDALE.

MY LORD, *Brunstane, 29th August,* 1745.

I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's, of the 24th, yesterday, wherein your Lordship says you are surprised I am not more particular as to the young Pretender himself, since there were several letters in town absolutely contradicting the accounts of his ever having landed in Scotland.

From whom the letters contradicting the accounts sent to the Government at London came, I do not know; nor can I conceive upon what foundation they proceeded: for my own part, I never saw any cause to doubt the truth of the information I sent by my letter of the 7th, repeated in my letter of the 10th current, to your Lordship, that the Pretender's son was on board the French ship; and by the after letters I wrote, I took notice that my former intelligence was confirmed. I know the Pretender's friends for some time endeavoured to conceal his son's being in the Highlands, and denied the fact. And I am willing to believe that

such as sent intelligence, grafted on their evidence, were imposed upon. I dare say, from the accounts I know your Lordship has now received from the Advocate, and in the channel of Sir John Cope by R. Roy's son, and a gentleman who came from the Pretender's son's camp on the 21st, there remains not the least doubt that the repeated intelligence I sent was true; nor was it worth while to mention his dress, which was said to be a white coat and a brocade vest; that he had the Star and George, and a broad-brimmed hat with a white feather, and other minutiæ, not worthy to be noticed.

There was yesterday a meeting at my house, where the Lord Advocate, the Provost, some others of the council, and well-affected inhabitants, were deliberating about means to raise some men by authority from the Crown, for the protection of this place in case of danger, until effectual methods were found to suppress the rebels. I was glad to see a rising zeal for the support of his Majesty's Government; but as the scheme was not quite ripened, and as the Advocate will no doubt give you an account of what passed, I shall not trouble your Lordship unnecessarily with a repetition.

I have a letter from the Magistrates of Glasgow, much to the same purpose, desiring arms and ammunition, which I communicated to Lord Advocate and General Guest, but they did not seem to

think themselves empowered to give any directions in the matter. I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

AND. FLETCHER.

No. XIV.

LETTER—*Marquis of* TWEEDALE *to Lord* MILTON.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, 29th August, 1745.*

I HAD the favour of your Lordship's of the 22d instant, which I this day laid before the Lords Justices. Should the rebels, by seizing any pass, be able to prevent Sir John Cope from marching to Fort William, it might be of most dangerous consequence; but it is to be hoped that his march will not only disappoint any designs they may have on that fort, but also keep others of the clans from joining with those in arms. I make no doubt, the captain of his Majesty's sloop, that convoyed the vessel with provisions to Fort William, will exert himself for the security of that place, should there be occasion.

As the wind is now fair, we expect his Majesty hourly. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble servant,

TWEEDALE.

No. XV.

LETTER *from the Marquis of* TWEEDALE *to Lord* MILTON.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, 3d September, 1745.*

I HAVE received your Lordship's, of the 29th of August, from Edinburgh by express, which I have had the honour to lay before the King. His Majesty was well pleased to see a rising zeal in the inhabitants of the town of Edinburgh for the support of his Government; but as you say the scheme was not yet quite ripened, I did not receive any particular directions from the King. You may expect at Leith, with the first fair wind, a battalion of Swiss from Holland, and more will immediately follow should there be occasion for them. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

TWEEDALE.

No. XVI.

LETTER—*Lord* MILTON *to the Marquis of* TWEEDALE.

MY LORD, *Edinburgh, 6th September,* 1745.

I SEND your Lordship inclosed, a copy of the answer I wrote in concert with Lord Advocate, to Sir John Cope, in answer to his letter, dated at Inverness the 31st August, and directed to General Guest; and shall be glad your Lordship approves it.

The body of rebels, by our last intelligence, continue at Perth, send out parties to raise men, get arms, ammunition and provisions, and public money where they can come by it, employ the carpenters to make targets and tent poles. On Wednesday evening they proclaimed the Pretender at Perth. Mercer, of Aldie, was knighted for acting the chief part. The Provost and Magistrates made their escape before that ceremony began, and other Magistrates are placed in their stead. I think it is one Smith that is made Provost.

Lord Advocate received a letter from Mr Napier, sheriff of Stirling, that he had raised 100 men, to be a night watch, and save the regiment of dragoons there from being harassed, particularly with

false alarms; and that the people on the south side of Forth offer to guard the passes and fords of the Forth, providing they be supplied with arms, &c. —Offers of the like nature came from Glasgow, Aberdeen, and the shires of Dumbarton, Dumfries, and Stirling, which I laid before Lord Advocate; and it's a pity there is no power or authority here, properly supported, to employ the friends of the Government, and put the nation in a posture of defence, now that our army is at so great a distance, and uncertain when it shall be nearer, or whence our relief is to come.

The report of Lord George Murray's having joined the rebels, gave the Duke of Athole more concern and vexation than being at present dispossessed of his estate. I wish it may not be true, but I fear the worst. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient servant,

AND. FLETCHER.

No. XVII.

LETTER—*Lord* MILTON *to the Marquis of* TWEEDALE.

MY LORD, *Edinburgh, 7th September, 1745.*

MR THOMAS HAY promised to acquaint your Lordship by what accident the letter I had the honour to write to your Lordship, of yesterday's date, did not go by the Lord Advocate's express.

The rebels continue at and about Perth; whether this is in order to reinforce themselves, or waiting a foreign landing, or to meet Sir John Cope, or that they differ in their schemes, I cannot tell: I hope it is the last. Meantime our Duke of Athole's eldest brother has returned from Perth to Dunkeld, as it is believed, to raise men. Few followed him from Athole to Perth, and most of those few disappeared in the night time.

I send your Lordship copies of some of the applications that have been made for arms from the Government; and many more of the same kind have come to Lord Advocate or me, from Glasgow, and other towns and counties; such as come to me I send or shew to my Lord Advocate. It is with difficulty I can walk the streets of Edinburgh from the attacks, not of the enemies of the Government,

but from the attacks of the most zealous friends of the Government, asking, why the well-affected to the present happy establishment are not armed and properly supported, and empowered to appear in a legal way for the defence of his Majesty's person, and support of his Government, and the preservation of our religion, liberty, and property? And although I have written often on this subject, I am sorry I have not been empowered to say any thing satisfactory to so faithful subjects. Meantime I assure your Lordship, I do all I can to encourage and keep alive so laudable a zeal for his Majesty's service, as far as apologies for the time past, and giving them better hopes in time to come, will go; but my credit that way will soon be exhausted, unless some salutary measures be soon laid down and followed out, or that kind Providence once more interpose in our behalf.

From Galloway we have intelligence, that on the 2d instant great firing of cannon was heard at sea, from nine in the morning to eleven at night; possibly it may be the two ships, said in the newspapers to have lately sailed from France with arms and ammunition for the Pretender's son. I suppose the Ferrol squadron, if intended against us, would steer their course by the back of Ireland. If there be no foreign invasion, sooner or later, with more or less expence to the public, and damage to individuals, we must get the better of these rebel-

lious insurgents; but the dangerous consequences of their being permitted to remain so long together are evident. I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient
And most humble servant,
AND. FLETCHER.

Lord Advocate will inform your Lordship of the turn that the zeal of the inhabitants of this city has taken for the support of his Majesty's Government, and that Sir John Cope is marching to Aberdeen.

No. XVIII.

LETTER—*Marquis of* TWEEDALE *to Lord* MILTON.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, 12th September,* 1745.

SINCE I wrote last to your Lordship, I received yours of the 5th, per express, which, as it contained nothing material, required no answer. Yesterday morning early, I received your Lordship's of the 6th, with a copy of your letter to Sir John Cope, both which I laid before the King; and I have acquainted my Lord Advocate, by a former express,

that his Majesty approved of the providing transports, as desired by Sir John Cope; since he, being upon the spot, can best judge from circumstances what is most expedient for his Majesty's service. I received, likewise, yesterday, about four o'clock, your Lordship's of the 7th, with copies of some applications that have been made for arms, from some towns and counties. I have sent down, by this express to my Lord Advocate, warrants for that purpose, for the cities of Glasgow and Aberdeen; as likewise a warrant for General Guest, to deliver arms as therein mentioned, which, no doubt, he will communicate to your Lordship. The warrants, empowering the Magistrates of Glasgow and Aberdeen, have been sent down, to remove any objection that may have been moved; for it is not doubted here, that, in cases of necessity, and during an actual rebellion, the Magistrates of every town have authority to levy men for their own defence, and that of the Government. How far, indeed, they are to be supplied by the public with arms and ammunition, must depend on his Majesty's pleasure, who will judge if it be expedient for his service. As for the counties, they, I own, require a different consideration; and your Lordship having been pleased, in both your letters, to take notice that applications had been made from several of them to the same purpose; and as you express your sorrow that there is no power and authority to employ the friends of

the Government to the best advantage, and to put the nation in a posture of defence; several of his Majesty's servants, to whom I have communicated your Lordship's letter, seem desirous to know what are the powers and authorities that you would wish were sent down to Scotland; since, if you would condescend particularly upon them, his Majesty could, with more certainty, determine whether it was expedient for his service, or indeed useful, to grant such powers at this critical juncture. Allow me to say, it is not sufficient to mention defects, if it be not at the same time suggested how these defects can be supplied; and I have so great confidence in your Lordship's zeal for his Majesty's service, that I make not the least doubt that your Lordship will immediately, upon the receipt of this, signify to me, in plain words, what authorities you desire may be sent down, to empower the well-affected to appear in a legal way for the defence of his Majesty's person and Government; and you may depend upon it, by the course of post, I shall let you know his Majesty's pleasure thereupon.

As the wind is now fair, part of the Dutch troops, I hope, will be arrived at Leith before this can reach you. More will immediately follow. And I make not the least doubt, that in a very little time the expectations of those who have favoured this desperate attempt of a Popish Pre-

tender, will soon vanish, and their persons meet with the fate they deserve. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble servant,

TWEEDALE.

No. XIX.

LETTER—*Lord* MILTON *to the Marquis of* TWEEDALE.

MY LORD, *Edinburgh, Sept.* 16, 1745.

I HAVE the honour of your Lordship's of the 12th current; and in obedience to your Lordship's commands, and in return for the confidence you are pleased to express in my zeal for his Majesty's service, I shall now signify to your Lordship, in plain words, what authorities I desired to have been sent down, to empower the well-affected to appear in a legal way for the defence of his Majesty's person and government.

And to explain myself fully on this head, your Lordship will be pleased to reflect on the state of this country at present, and before the beginning of this rebellious insurrection, which began about six weeks ago, and at this hour is holding in dread the capital of this part of the kingdom.

Scotland may be divided into two parts; the one disarmed, and the other unarmed. By the former I mean the Highlands, and by the latter the Lowlands. The former produces as good militia, perhaps, as any in Europe; the latter (with which your Lordship and I are most acquainted), are neighbourlike, but little accustomed to the use of arms, till they are employed in a military manner.

The Highlands, again, may be divided into three classes: first, what I shall call the Whig Clans, which have always bore that character, since the names of Whig or Jacobite were known among us. Of this sort your Lordship, and every one acquainted with this country, knows that the chief are the Campbells, Grants, Munros, M'Kays, and Sutherlands.

The second class are the clans still properly Jacobite, and who at this moment are giving proof of it. The Camerons, the M'Donalds of Keppoch, Clanronald, and Glengary; none of their chiefs reckoned great princes in the Highlands.

The third class are the clans which were engaged in the last rebellion; but their chiefs now profess and practise obedience to the government. Of these the most powerful are the Duke of Gordon, Seaforth, Sir Alexander M'Donald, and M'Leod of M'Leod. The behaviour of the two last has been most exemplary and meritorious on this occasion.

By an act of the 1st of the late King, entitled,

For the more effectually securing the peace of the Highlands, the whole Highlands, without distinction, are disarmed, and for ever forbid to use or bear arms under penalties.

This act has been found by experience to work the quite contrary effect from what was intended by it; and, in reality, it proves a measure for more effectually disturbing the peace of the Highlands, and of the rest of the kingdom. For at the time appointed by the disarming act, all the dutiful and well-affected clans truly submitted to the act of parliament, and gave up their arms, so that they are now completely disarmed; but the disaffected clans either concealed their arms at first, or have provided themselves since with other arms. The fatal effects of this difference at the time of a rebellious insurrection must be very obvious, and are by us in this country felt at this hour. I pray God they may be felt no farther south.

By that disarming act, as it stands, there is still room left for arming occasionally even the Highland or prohibited counties; and the method reserved or excepted from the prohibition is, when by his Majesty's order, and out of his arsenal, the people are called out, and armed by the Lords Lieutenant of counties, then they may lawfully wear and use such arms during such number of days, or space of time, as shall be expressed in his Majesty's order.

This is in plain words of a statute an answer to your Lordship's question, what authorities I desired might be sent down to empower the well-affected to appear in a legal way for the defence of his Majesty's person and government.

This is what I meant in my first letter to your Lordship on the subject from Roseneath, of the 4th August, in answer to your Lordship's of the 30th July, giving me the first notice of an intended invasion, wherein I say it is too obvious that we civil officers can do little on such occasions, when superior force is on the other side. It is men, money, and ammunition; it is timeously and properly arming the King's troops and faithful subjects, that can only resist the enemies of the government in time of an invasion.

It was that I also meant by my other letter to your Lordship from Edinburgh, of the 18th August, when Sir John Cope was setting out on his unfortunate march to the Highlands, when I wrote to your Lordship,—Sir John will have no small difficulty in getting at them with regular troops, in so inaccessible a country, or preventing them from getting between him and the Lowcountry, without the help of the friends of government, who remain still without arms, or power to make use of any; an unhappy circumstance which I had the honour to state to your Lordship the beginning of last

year, when we were threatened with a former invasion. Had legal strength been given to the friends of government in the Highlands, no such insurrection could have happened as this, without a landing of foreign troops; and if it had, must have been crushed at the beginning, without endangering or harassing the regular troops, or taking them from posts where they may be wanted.

It did not occur to me, that it was at all needful to speak plainer to your Lordship than I did in the words of my letters above recited. I took it for granted your Lordship perfectly understood my meaning, alluding to so late a statute relating to this country; but that possibly there were other more weighty considerations which I could not penetrate, that prevented such measures being taken as I then suggested.

It may be true, and I am humbly of that opinion, that at such a time as this, for the King to put arms in the hands of the clans of the third class above described, whose chiefs are themselves but late converts, and whose people may not yet be cured of their former prejudices against the present establishment, would not be safe or eligible. But I take it to be a clear case, that there can be no hazard, but a high utility, in arming the Whig Clans above named; and also, in case of further need, the Lowcountry militia in the southern and

western counties. The former indeed was the most useful, and immediately necessary; and if it had been done, it is as clear as any moral demonstration, to every man in Scotland, that this at first pitiful and now ugly insurrection, would have been dissipated and crushed at once; for they were counted at Blair of Athol on the 1st of September, and were not then 2000 men; and what would have been more easy than for Sir John Cope to have remained at Stirling till he had got a greater number of Highlanders than the rebel army from the Campbells alone, who lay nearest to him? and then he had Highlanders against Highlanders, and his regular troops into the bargain; and might safely have marched where he pleased. Instead of which, what do we now see? The regular foot harassed and exposed, by a tedious, useless march to Inverness, and back again by Aberdeen, and conveyed from thence by sea. In the meantime, what I prophesied came to pass: the rebels got betwixt him and the Lowcountry. Alas! my Lord, I have grief and not glory that my fears have been more than fulfilled, for more than I feared is come to pass. Yesterday the two regiments of dragoons fled from the rebel army in the sight of Edinburgh, where many loyal gentlemen volunteers stood armed to defend the city, which was so dispirited and struck with consternation, that they resolved to open their

gates to the rebels, despairing of speedy relief, and unable to make a long defence. Then it was, that I and others of his Majesty's civil officers, with several persons noted for their fidelity and zeal for his Majesty, were obliged to fly from the capital; and thus to see Scotland reduced under the obedience of the Pretender, by the forces of two or three petty Highland gentlemen.

In this situation I now write, and your Lordship will, I hope, therefore excuse it, if my style appears too ardent. I pray God to prevent farther bad consequences. The beginning of mischief is often small, but I will never despond of the cause of the King and the country. Providence, I trust, will yet interpose, and prevent those fatal effects we fear.

In the meantime, as it is not impossible that this great appearance of success may produce or encourage a farther rising of the Highlanders, I still think it will not be too late to empower and authorise the King's friends, (especially in the Highlands) to arm, that there may be instruments and legal strength given, where there are men of natural strength, and hearts to make a right use of it. Thus I have fully and plainly told all that occurs to me for giving the true present state of this country, which I doubt not your Lordship will lay before his Majesty, that he may do his pleasure there-

upon; and I pray God to direct and prosper him. I am,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most humble servant,
AND. FLETCHER.

P. S. I overtook the dragoons at Musselburgh, where I received notice of General Cope's transports being arrived at Dunbar-road. This intelligence was communicated immediately to the officers of dragoons, and sent on by express to Edinburgh, to encourage the defence of the city, but all to no purpose. The panic wrought so powerfully on some, and worse arguments on others, that the town is now in the hands of the rebels.

No. XX.

LETTER *from the Marquis of* TWEEDALE *to Lord* MILTON.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, 21st Sept.* 1745.

YESTERDAY, in the evening, I was favoured with your Lordship's of the 16th, in answer to mine of the 12th, which I have laid before the King, as I have done every letter I received from you since

his Majesty's arrival; and during his absence, all yours were communicated to the Lords Justices, since the first notice of this rebellion.

I have had the honour to sit in the House of Lords, when two different acts of Parliament for disarming the Highlands were under the deliberation of the legislature, since that act you mention of the late King passed into a law; nor am I unacquainted with what was the universal sense of the nation in relation to that act; and I shall only now observe, that no penalties in that act would have deterred me from arming my followers in the time of an actual rebellion in favour of a Popish Pretender, had it been in my power.

I have not time, nor is it now necessary, to answer particularly every part of your letter; and as it is your opinion that it will not be too late, but salutary and useful, forthwith to empower and authorise the King's friends in the Highlands, I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that his Majesty has sometime ago transmitted such powers as were suggested by his servants here, would be most useful at this juncture; and his Majesty has thought proper, on this occasion, to bestow a particular mark of his confidence in the Lord President of the Session, whose presence in the north has been of great service at this juncture.

That 2000 men, and these the scum of two or three Highland gentlemen, the Camerons, and a

few tribes of the Macdonalds, should be able in so short a time to make themselves masters of the town of Edinburgh, is an event which, had it not happened, I should never have believed possible. Some satisfaction, however, it gives to us, that from Sir John Cope's landing the troops at Dunbar, and being joined by the two regiments of dragoons, we may hope soon to see the face of affairs in our country changed for the better: to effectuate which, I assure your Lordship, I had never the least doubt that anything in your power would be wanting.

I am,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient and humble servant,
TWEEDALE.

No. XXI.

LETTER *from the* LORD PRESIDENT *to Sir* ALEXANDER MACDONALD.

MY DEAR KNIGHT, *Culloden, 19th Aug.* 1746.

I HAVE yours of the 11th from Talisker.* As you know the affection I have for you and the

* Talisker, a place in Skye.

Laird, you will not at all doubt that your conduct and resolution give me very great satisfaction. What you suspected of Lochiel is, I am afraid, too true. I have had no return of the message I caused to be sent him from Badenoch; and his people and Glengary's have already begun the horse-play, by attacking, and, as is said, making prisoners, the two additional companies of Sinclair's, that were marching from Fort Augustus to Fort William. The truth and particulars of this transaction you will know better from other hands, in the course of the post, than I, who know nothing but by report, can inform you. This success, supposing it to be true, I am afraid will elevate too much, and be the occasion of farther folly. Two companies of the Royals made prisoners, sounds pretty well, and will surely be passed for a notable achievement; but when it is considered that these companies were not half complete, that they were lads picked up last season in the Lowcountry, without anything of the Royal but the name, and that their officers were raw, the achievement is not by any means so important. Lord Lovat was with me here last Thursday, and has, by the bad weather, been detained at Inverness till this day. He has declared to me his full purpose to be prudent, and follow your example, and I verily believe him; but as he, doubtless, will write you by the bearer, I need say

no more about him. Lord Seaforth was with me on Saturday; and he also declares in very strong terms his resolution to prevent the spreading of the infection as much as he can. Want of arms is the general complaint. 1000 stand are arrived at the Castle of Inverness; and I suppose, on remonstrance made, more will soon be sent. The Duke of Gordon last Thursday set out from Gordon Castle for Edinburgh, I presume, to ask for directions and orders. This I learn from the Duchess, who is at home, and upon hearing of my arrival here, acquainted me with it. I am also told that Sir James Grant is to leave Strathspey this day, in his way to Edinburgh, and so to London; and the young Laird is to protect the country. I am heartily glad to hear of the wise resolution of my friend Croll. The kindred will, by his advice, I am confident, remain quiet; and will be apt to consider their chief, now at London, as a hostage for their good behaviour. Of news from the south I can tell you little more than Willie Muir can inform you of. A regiment of foot lay encamped at Perth on Thursday.

The dragoons, with a small field-train, were going about by Stirling; and Sir John Cope had set out from Edinburgh on Wednesday to lead them northwards. If the post, which is expected to-day, fetches anything to me worth your knowing, I shall

send it in a note to the Laird; if not, he must be contented with this, since writing to one is the same thing as writing to both of you. My compliments to Lady Margaret.

I am, my dear Knight,
Most faithfully yours,
DUNCAN FORBES.

No. XXII.

LETTER *from the* LORD PRESIDENT *to Sir* JOHN COPE.

DEAR SIR, *Culloden, August 20th*, 1745.

I HAVE the honour of yours of the 13th, and wait with impatience to hear from you. My last to you was on the 17th, by the Inverness post, whom I directed to be escorted through Drumnauchter by some of Cluny's people. The three former letters, I am confident, you have received. The officer at Fort Augustus has, doubtless, acquainted you with the report which we had from thence, and which is believed over all the country, that Sinclair's two additional companies were made prisoners in their way to Fort William, which puts me in pain for Inverraw and his company, lest they may have had the same fate. It is now past a doubt that all the Highlanders whom I mentioned in mine of the 15th are in arms, attending their chief in the Highlands. The most credible report

I have heard is what I wrote you in my last, that they were to assemble as yesterday upon the confines of Suinard, and march from thence towards Fort William. What success they are to expect there I cannot imagine; but as they now have drawn the sword, it is likely that they will fling away the scabbard, and that they will not be long idle. What their force may be I cannot tell. The force of the clans that are said to have joined is above 2000, if they are completely assembled; and from all the accounts I have had, I believe no other chief has joined them, though it is possible they may have picked up here and there some zealous individuals, to what number one cannot guess. It is impossible with any certainty to conjecture what course they are next to steer. It must, however, be either towards you, or towards this country; and if they go southward, their view must be to pick up some addition to their strength in Athole, Breadalbane, and the skirts of Argyllshire; and it will easily occur to yourself and to the Duke of Argyll, if he is with you, of what consequence it is to prevent that design; and I should think it no difficult matter for those noble Lords, supported by the troops, to effect it. If they come this way, their intent must be by threats to give countenance to the defection of some of the followers of those chiefs who are disposed to support the Government. Should that be the case, Lord Lovat, Fortrose,

and others, well disposed in this neighbourhood, will be under considerable difficulties, as their men are not armed; and after reserving what is sufficient to arm that part of the Earl of Loudon's regiment, which is to be formed at Inverness, the remainder to be divided will make an inconsiderable figure; and the occasion for sending more arms hither is obvious. Lord Fortrose was with me Saturday last: he has sent orders for all his people on the main land to meet him, to act in defence of the Government. Lord Lovat, whom I saw yesterday, assures me he has done the like.

I have dispatches from Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Macleod, from the Isle of Skye, assuring me that they have effectually prevented the invaders from having the assistance of so much as one man from the estates depending upon them. In these circumstances it is very unlucky that for want of arms, and a proper authority, a handful of men should be able to lord it over the whole country, which I am afraid will be the case, should they direct their march this way. The recruits for Earl Loudon's regiment come in slowly; as they must come from distant regions. Should the Highlanders direct their march southward, Lord Loudon's men may be soon in condition to do some service, as they receive arms when they arrive; but should the rebels turn their whole force this way, Lord

Loudon can do nothing but retire before them, as the town of Inverness is not defensible.

As numbers of loose Highlanders have infested the road from Badenoch to Athole, and have almost entirely blocked up the road from Fort Augustus southwards, I have advised Captain Macpherson of Cluny to remain with as many of his company as he has listed, in Badenoch, to keep, if possible, the communication with Blair open from those free-booters; and to escort the passengers and expresses that may be sent, as well as to gain intelligence. Last Friday morning the Duke of Gordon set out for Edinburgh, I presume to receive directions; and I am told that Sir James Grant was to have set out yesterday for Edinburgh in his way to London, leaving his son, the young Laird of Grant, to take care of the country. It would have been good for the service that the Laird of Mackintosh had been in the country, could he have been spared from where he is. Whenever the gentlemen in arms draw nigher either to you or to us, the conveyance and intelligence will become the more difficult; perhaps even this may not reach you. I am, &c.

No. XXIII.

LETTER—*Sir* JOHN COPE *to Lord* MILTON.

From the Camp at Inverness, 31st August, 1745.

MY LORD,

THIS being a private letter to your Lordship, please not to mention the receipt of it. General Guest will shew you mine to him. I, from the beginning, thought this affair might become serious; and sorry I am, that I was not mistaken: indeed, my Lord, it is serious. I know your activity and ability in business—the whole is at stake—exert your authority—lengths must be gone; and rules and common course of business must yield to the necessity of the times, or it may soon be too late.

So much fatigue of body and mind I never knew before; but my health continues good, and my spirits do not flag. Much depends upon the next step we take. In this country the rebels will not let us get at them, unless we had some Highlanders with us; and as yet not one single man has joined us, though I have lugged along with me 300 stand of arms. No man could have believed, that not one man would take arms in our favour, or shew

countenance to us; but so it is. I can say no more, but am,

Your Lordship's
Most obedient humble servant,
JOHN COPE.

Pray attend, and give assistance to Guest.

No. XXIV.

LETTER—*Lord* MILTON *to Mr* MAULE, *afterwards Baron* MAULE.

DEAR JOHN, *Edinburgh, Sept. 6th, 1745.*

I RECEIVED yours of the 31st of August from London; and am greatly concerned to hear of the Duke's illness.

I see day-light through all this affair, if the Duke would and could act; and that there was to be no landing.

The Advocate will venture to do nothing without me. I have no reason to act with him, if it were not *pro aris*, &c.

Sir John Cope is worse than can be imagined. By Harry's letter you see how I am used. At this time I will not take it ill.

Yours,
AND. FLETCHER.

No. XXV.

LETTER—*General* GUEST *to Lord* MILTON.

MY DEAR LORD, *Thursday Morning.**

I HAD never more need of your advice.—For God's sake, come to, my dear Lord,

Your most humble servant,

JOS. GUEST.

No. XXVI.

LETTER—*Lord* MILTON *to Sir* JOHN COPE.

SIR, *Edinburgh, 6th Sept.* 1745.

ACCORDING to your desire, General Guest has shewed the Advocate, the Solicitor, and me, your letter to him, dated at Inverness, the 31st August last, requiring our assistance in providing transports for the troops under your command, to be sent to you from Leith to Aberdeen; and the making an answer has been put upon me.

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* This Thursday must have been the 12th of September, when the rebels were marching from Perth to Edinburgh.—Thursday 19th, General Guest was in the Castle of Edinburgh, and the Highlanders in possession of the city.

As you must know much better than we do the difficulty of bringing south his Majesty's forces under your command any other way than by sea, no time has been lost to put it in your power to take that route. Captain Beaver, of the Fox man-of-war, undertakes to convoy the transports to Aberdeen, and those employed to hire ships at Leith, make no doubt of getting the 2000 tons required.

But if the information we have reason to rely on be just, that the great body of the Highland insurgents are at Perth, whether your passage with the forces under your command would be very practicable, must be submitted to your superior knowledge; and there is this great difference between the two methods, that if the forces are embarked, it depends on the winds how soon they can arrive, and land in the south. Possibly it may be weeks; and time, in this conjuncture, seems precious. I am, with great regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient and
Most humble servant,
AND. FLETCHER.

P. S. Yesterday the stores and gunners from London arrived at Leith, and proceeded this day to the castle. It was thought proper to send you this by a ferry-boat express.

No. XXVII.

LETTER *concerning the* ARMS *of the* HIGHLANDERS, *dated Kilmuir, in the Isle of Skye.*

[This letter was intended by Mr Donald Macqueen, minister at Kilmuir, as an answer to some queries sent from Edinburgh, concerning the arms of the Highlanders. To the queries Mr Macqueen returned an answer concerning arms in general, and a particular account of the arms of the Highlanders at different periods. The dissertation seemed too long to be inserted in this Appendix. Towards the end of the dissertation, Mr Macqueen mentions the two-handed sword, and says, that about 170 years ago, his great grandfather, who was a clergyman, went to church with his two-handed sword by his side, and his servant walked behind him, carrying his bow and case of arrows. "The sword and belt of black silk," Mr Macqueen adds, "I have seen."]

No. XXVIII.

INSTRUCTIONS *for Mr* ALEXANDER MACLEOD, *Advocate.*

In the Name of the PRINCE RÉGENT, and under the Seal of Great Britain.

YOU are to go from this to the Isle of Skye, with all convenient diligence, and there acquaint Sir Alexander Macdonald, the Laird of Macleod, and other gentlemen of these two names, that we cannot impute their not joining us hitherto to any failure of loyalty or zeal for his Majesty's cause, but to the private way in which we judged it most proper to come into this kingdom, having it always at heart to restore our royal Father by the means of his own subjects alone.

You are to acquaint them likewise, that, notwithstanding the delay already made, we are willing to receive them with that affection due to the most forward of his Majesty's loyal subjects, and can allow no grudge to enter into our breast for their past procedure.

You must inform them likewise of the complete victory which, by the assistance of God, we have gained over the forces of the usurper; and as they

well know the temper of the Highlanders, with their inclination to return home after a battle, they must be sensible how necessary it is to recruit our army with a strong body of men from that country. We therefore require they will, with all possible diligence, repair to our army, where they shall be furnished with a sufficient quantity of arms.

In case you shall find these gentlemen refractory, you are to use all proper means with the gentlemen of their different families to bring them to the field with as many of their followers as possible; and assure them, that they shall have so much the more encouragement and favour shewn them in proportion to their loyalty, and the backwardness of their chiefs.

You are to acquaint them likewise that we have most undoubted assurances of assistance from France and Spain; and we have now for some time past, and still do expect the Earl of Marshall, with a body of troops, to land in the country; as likewise the Duke of Ormond, to land in England with the Irish brigade, with a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and money. This account may not appear as given to encourage them to take arms. You are to acquaint them, that, before passing the Forth, we received letters from his Spanish Majesty's ministers, and the Duke of Bouillon, with further and more positive assurances of their joining us.

You are likewise to send for Mackinnon, and tell him, we are greatly surprised, that one who professed so much eagerness to join us, and gave such solemn promises to leave that country, with all the men he could possibly gather together after his return, should have failed.

You are likewise to send for Macleod of Swordland, in Glenelg, and inquire into the meaning of his not seizing the fort of Bernera, and joining us with a hundred men, whether his chief joined or not, as he engaged to us in Glenfinnin.

You are likewise to send for Macleod of Talisker, Rasay, Bernera, and the other considerable gentlemen of that name, and concert matters with them for the appearance of their own people; and lest any of those you go to shall pretend any scruples as to your power to treat with them, we hereby authorize you to shew all or any part of the above instructions.

Given at our Palace of Holyrood-house, the twenty-fourth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and forty-five years.

By his Highness's command,

JO. MURRAY.

No. XXIX.

LETTER *from* FRASER *of Foyers to the Duke of* ATHOLE.

MY LORD DUKE, *Foyers, 9th October, 1745.*

I DID myself the honour to write your Grace the 30th ultimo, by my friend Hugh Fraser, whom I sent to conduct the twenty-two recruits, who I hope came safe to Blair Castle. I then assured your Grace, that I was, with my men, to set out from here this day, if I did not see it convenient to wait Lord Lovat for some days. Friday last I had a call from Lovat, as had all the gentlemen of the name. We met at Beaufort, when it was concerted that I should not move till Tuesday next, when the Macdonalds of Skye, Macleods, Mackenzies, Mackintoshes, and Frasers, are to join, and march that day. All the certainty I have of this is, that I have been present when the Laird of Macleod was dispatched Saturday last, by express to Skye, and is engaged in honour to be Tuesday next in Corryarrak, with his men, where the Frasers will join them. I beg that my stay may not give offence to you. The master of Lovat is to

muster his men Saturday, and will go along with them.

With the greatest esteem and attachment, I am,

Your Grace's

Most obedient and

Faithful servant,

JAMES FRASER.

[This letter, from Fraser of Foyers to the Duke of Athole, was found among Lord Milton's papers concerning the Rebellion. See an account of it in page 132 of the History.]

No. XXX.

QUERIES *sent to Mr* PATULLO, *with his Answers.*—PATULLO *had been Muster-Master of the Rebel Army in the Year* 1745, *and had lived in Exile at Paris many Years.*

I. Is there an account of the expedition to Scotland, in the year 1745, deposited in the Scots College at Paris?

II. Who are said to have been the chiefs, whom Secretary Murray, in his evidence at the bar of the House of Peers, calls *many others*, who signed the invitation to Charles Stuart, along with the persons named by Murray?

III. What was the number of the Highlanders when they took possession of Edinburgh?

IV. What was their number when they fought the battle of Preston?

V. What was their number when they began their march into England?

VI. What was their number when they entered Glasgow, after their retreat from Derby?

VII. What was their number at the battle of Falkirk?

VIII. What was their number when they retreated, and went north from Stirling?

IX. What was their number at the battle of Culloden?

To which Queries the following Answers, in Patullo's hand-writing, were returned.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

I. No distinct account of the expedition to Scotland, in the year 1745, ever appeared, and there can be none in the Scots College, but some [illegible] dicious lying catch-penny pamphlet, publ[illegible] some of the French Irish officers, who had[illegible] the expedition.

II. Secretary Murray, desirous to rec[illegible] himself to the Prince, and obtain the dire[illegible] affairs, had, from the beginnin[illegible]

number of invitations, but in reality they were not many, and all of them qualified with a condition of support from France, in men, money, and arms. But no due support having arrived, made several chiefs postpone, and others evade entirely their invitation.

III. The number of the rebels when they took possession of Edinburgh was about 2500. *

IV. Their number at the battle of Preston was much the same. But at a review a few days after, there only appeared about 1400. Some had been killed and wounded. Others had gone home with the spoil.

V. The number of the rebels when they began their march into England was a few above 5000 foot, with about 500 on horseback, mostly Low-country gentlemen and their servants, under the names of guards, hussars, &c.

VI. After the retreat from England, there appeared at a review on the green of Glasgow, full

* Mr Patullo, writing from memory, as he says, in the account he gives of the number of the rebels at different times, makes the number of men to have been the same when they took possession of Edinburgh, and when they fought the battle of Preston. But when they came to Edinburgh they did not amount to 2000; and the day after they came to Edinburgh, they were joined by Maclachlan of Maclachlan, with 150 men; and before they marched from Edinburgh to meet Sir John Cope's army, Lord Nairne joined them with 250 men from Athole.

5000. Danger in England had prevented desertion, and the few who joined in that country were left in the castle of Carlisle.

VII. At the battle of Falkirk, there were 8000 men, besides about 1000 left to continue the blockade of Stirling castle.

VIII. When the rebels retreated to the north, they only amounted to about 5000, many of the men having gone home with spoil after the battle, who joined the army afterwards.

IX. At the battle of Culloden, the number on the rolls was above 8000. But several parties had been detached upon different expeditions, and were not come back. The Macphersons, in particular, a brave band of strong-bodied men, had been allowed to go home, and were not returned: besides, a resolution having been taken the day before, to attack the Duke of Cumberland's camp at Nairne, during the night, the march was begun about eight in the evening, and continued with that view until the appearance of broad day, (when there were still above two miles to march) which made a return necessary, and so much exhausted the men by fatigue, hunger, and want of sleep, that it was not possible to bring 5000 to the field. Therefore proposals were made to retire over the river Nairne, and avoid fighting at so great a disadvantage, which might have been done with great facility. But Sir Thomas Sheridan, and others from France, having

lost all patience, and hoping, no doubt, for a miracle, in which light most of them had considered both the victory at Preston, and that at Falkirk, insisted upon a battle, and prevailed, without reflecting that many were then absent, and those on the spot spent and discouraged by a forced march, during a long dark night; whereas upon the other two occasions, the men were in full vigour and spirits.

Had I by me the notes I kept at the time, I might have been precise in the numbers upon all occasions to a man. But I had long considered those notes of no more use, and the numbers which I have given are so near the truth, as can make no great difference.

No. XXXI.

LETTER *from Lord* MILTON *to the Duke of* ARGYLL *at London.*

MY LORD DUKE, *Edinburgh, 21st Nov.* 1745.

IT took me some days after my arrival here to settle my correspondence, so as to be able, with some certainty, to give your Grace any account of the situation of this country.

To begin with the north, Lord Loudon has for some time had about 1000 men at Inverness, con-

sisting of seven companies of his own regiment, and five of the independent companies.

On Friday last, Lord Loudon was joined by Macleod, at the head of 450 of his men; so that Lord Loudon is now about 1500 strong.

As to Perth and the environs, upon General Handyside's arrival here, the number of the rebels at Perth was not above 400, and even they were to be lessened, in order to make up a party at Down to 600, who were to pass the head of the Forth, and proceed to England; but the rebels at Perth, dreading an attack from this place, called in all their out parties, and with the addition they received by the arrival of the Earl of Cromarty with 200 or 300 men, were, on the 19th, a good 1000 men at Perth.

I send inclosed a copy of a letter from my correspondent at Perth, dated the 19th instant; and for further proof of the great distress of the people of that country, I send a copy of a letter from the rebels to Lady Powrie, of whom they have demanded 300*l.* under pain of military execution; so that the distress of that country is but beginning.

I am well assured that a party of the Frasers are on the road to Perth; as also, that a party of the Duke of Gordon's and Lord Aboyne's men, which some call 400 or 500 men, under the command of Lord Lewis Gordon, was far advanced on

their way to Perth; so that I am afraid there may soon be an army of betwixt 2000 and 3000 rebels at Perth. Glengyle is soliciting a strong party to march into Argyllshire, and revenge his quarrel.

Your Grace will have earlier and exacter accounts of the surrender of the town and castle of Carlisle. One that I employed to bring intelligence took five days, another took six days, in coming hither; the weather was so bad, and the snow so deep, that they were obliged to quit their horses, and walk on foot through the snow, which makes me in great pain about M. Wade's army, exposed to bad weather and long cold nights, while the rebels are got under cover. Besides great quantities of arms and ammunition, the rebels found at Carlisle about eighty horses well accoutred, and upon these so many rebels marched immediately to Dumfries, to levy money, as the value of about fifty or sixty cart loads of provisions and baggage, which, for want of horses, were left by them on the road, and carried by a party of the seceders to Dumfries. I hope the seceders, who are pretty numerous in that country, and very loyal and zealous, may come to give a good account of these eighty horsemen.

The city of Glasgow, fearing to be plundered by the rebels at Carlisle, if they should retreat to Scotland, or by the rebels at Perth, if they should march to England, applied for arms out of the castle, pursuant to the King's sign manual, dated the 12th

of September last, and 1000 being the number demanded, were this morning sent with an escort of 100 dragoons, in which all our generals here were unanimous. Lord Home, who is always ready where any thing is to be done, has, with General Handyside's approbation, gone thither with Lieutenant Cranston and some serjeants, to see the arms put into proper hands. The Magistrates of Glasgow say, that upon any proper occasion 500 chosen men shall be ready to march to Stirling. I send a copy of the Provost's letter to me; and Lord Home told me, that in case the whole rebel army should march to Glasgow, he will, at least, take care the arms and ammunition be saved by the Custom-house boats.

No. XXXII.

JOHN HAY'S *Account of the Retreat of the Rebels from Derby.*

THERE was a council of war held at Macclesfield, in which it was unanimously agreed to make some forced marches, so as to get between the Duke's army and London, and then march on as fast as they could to the capital. One of the keenest for that measure was Lord George Murray.

When this was agreed upon, the army marched to Leek, and then to Ashbourn in one day. The general was beat at midnight, and they marched on to Derby, where they arrived early in the morning of the 4th December. Next day the army was ready to march, and every body gone to their posts. Charles and Hay were alone, in a room of the house where Charles had slept. Charles was just going out, and had put on his bonnet, when Lord George Murray came in, and said to him, that it was high time to think what they were to do. Charles asked him what he meant, as he thought it was resolved to march on. Lord George said, that most of the chiefs were of a different opinion, and thought they should march back to Ashbourn, and join the army from Scotland, which was believed to be following them fast.—Charles was extremely offended, and absolutely averse to march back, since they had now so far carried their point as to have got before the Duke's army. Lord George Murray went and came, and used the names of many of the chiefs, who, he said, were bent upon a junction with the other army. The whole day was spent in brigue and cabal, but no council of war was called. Charles, by the repeated asseverations of Lord George, and the people he had brought over to his way of thinking, was induced to believe that it was the general desire of the army, and forced to consent.

Next morning when they began their march, very few knew that they were marching back: many persons of distinction did not know it; amongst others, Lord Nairne. When the men, who had marched in the grey of the morning, began to know by day-light, from the marks they had taken of the road, that they were going back, there was a universal lamentation amongst them. Charles, who had marched a-foot at the head of the men all the way, was obliged to get on horse-back, for he could not walk, and hardly stand (as was always the case with him when he was cruelly used.) After they had marched back as far as Manchester, and had lost the advantage gained over the Duke's army, they heard nothing of the army from Scotland, and found themselves obliged to go further north in quest of them.—When they came to Leek, Charles said, he found they intended to carry him back to Scotland.

No. XXXIII.

QUERIES *sent to* CHARLES *at Rome, called there the Count of* ALBANY.

I. WHETHER or no was there a council of war held at Macclesfield, and the resolution to march on to London taken, as Mr Hay states it?

II. Was there a meeting of the general officers and chiefs held in the Prince's quarters at Derby? or did Lord George Murray stop the Prince, as Mr Hay says he did, and mention, as his reason for doing so, the opinion of the chiefs, which they only gave through him?

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

I. The answer to the second query is sufficient for this query, as the decision or determination of the last council of war, if different from the first, of course must annul the resolutions of the former council.

II. M. le Compte affirms, that the retreat of the army was in consequence of a council of war, held in his presence some time before the retreat took place, composed of the general officers and chiefs; and that all the members, except M. le Compte himself, were of opinion, that the retreat was absolutely necessary; and that M. le Compte endeavoured to persuade some of them to join with him, but could not prevail upon one single person.

No. XXXIV.

LETTER *from* MACPHERSON *of Cluny, to one of his Friends in Scotland.*

Carlisle, 20th December, 1745.

THE Duke of Cumberland came up to us at Clifton, very late Wednesday last, the 18th, accompanied with 4000 horse, or rather better than 3000 according to our information, and 2000 foot, about a day or two's march behind him. He indeed surprised us, as we had no right intelligence about him; and when he appeared, there happened to be no more of our army at hand than Glengary's, Stuart of Appin's, and my regiment; the rest of the army being at such distance, that they could not assist us at the time. Our three regiments planted themselves to receive the enemy, being commanded by our General, Lord George Murray. Glengary's regiment was planted at the back of a stone dyke on our right, the Appin regiment in the centre, and mine on the left, lining a hedge, from which we expected to attack the enemy on their march towards us; but the General spying another hedge about a gun-shot nearer the enemy, which he thought more advantageous, he ordered my regiment and the Stuarts to possess

themselves of that hedge directly; and at the same time planted himself at the right of my regiment, which put me to the left. Immediately we made towards the last-mentioned hedge, without any cover; which hedge was, without our knowing of it, lined by the enemy, and was so very close, having a deep ditch, that it was much the same as if they had been intrenched to the teeth. Upon advancing towards them, we received a very warm fire; I mean my regiment single, which we soon returned; and upon discharging our firelocks, we attacked them sword in hand, beat them out of their intrenchments, and put them all to flight. In a word, the whole ditch the enemy had lined, was filled up with their dead bodies, so that we had no difficulty in crossing it. This was only one advanced body of about 600 dragoons, that had dismounted, in order, as we think, to try if we durst face them; but I suppose they were so well peppered, that they will not be hasty in attacking us again. Glengary's regiment fired very briskly from the back of the stone dyke on the right, on a part of the enemy that marched directly to have flanked us, which routed that party, without losing above a man or two. The Stuarts did not attack in a body: a few of them by accident came in our rear, by which means they did not lose one man. I had twelve men and a serjeant killed on the spot, and three private men wounded; but not one officer

either killed or wounded. We cannot be positive how many were killed of the enemy, but it is generally said by the countrymen that there were 150, besides a great many wounded. We have great reason to thank Almighty God for our coming so safe off, as the attack, being after night-fall, was one of the most desperate that have been heard of for a long time. This is allowed by all the officers here, as well Scotch as French, who say, that the part my regiment acted was one of the most gallant things in this age, and an action worthy to be recorded, though done by the oldest and best disciplined regiment in Europe. Upon driving all the dragoons back, who had advanced to their main body, we retired and charged again to be ready for a second attack, when we received express orders from the Prince to return to Penrith.

I am,

Your sincere friend,

EVAN MACPHERSON.

No. XXXV.

LETTER—*Lord* JOHN DRUMMOND *to Lord* FORTROSE.

MY LORD, *Perth, 6th December, 1745.*

As I am an old acquaintance of your Lordship's, I will begin now by giving you some good and so-

lid advice. The only way you have of retrieving your character, and your past behaviour, is by immediately declaring, as some other people have done, that you waited for nothing but a reasonable appearance of success for joining the Prince's party. As I am afraid, however, that my salutary advice will have little weight, this is at the same time to give your Lordship notice of my arrival in Scotland, with a good body of men belonging to the King of France, and a great train of artillery, to make war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover, and all his adherents. My positive orders are to fall upon and destroy his Christian Majesty's enemies in Scotland, which he has declared over all Europe to be those who, upon his desire, will not immediately join and assist the Prince of Wales, his ally. I must likewise inform your Lordship, that as his Christian Majesty has left me judge of the way they are to be treated, punishment will certainly be inflicted in proportion to the harm they will have done to his Royal Highness's cause. I will tell your Lordship for news, that the Prince by this time has got amongst his friends in Wales, who are about 10,000; and that his Royal Highness the Duke of York will immediately join him, at the head of 10,000 men, and my Lord Marishall.

I send your Lordship a copy of the letter I have remitted by a drum to the commander of the Dutch troops. I hope you will be so good as to present

my most humble service to your Lady. I will add nothing more just now, but to desire your Lordship should favour me soon with an answer; and to assure your Lordship of the strong desire I have that you should behave in such shape as will be advantageous to your honour and interest, who am,

Your most obedient,
Humble servant.

P.S. Our Scots embarkation is of two battalions of the Royal Scots, a choice detachment out of the six Irish regiments, commanded by Brigadier Stapleton, Fitz-James's regiment of horse, with complete accoutrements for his men and horses.

No. XXXVI.

LETTER *from the Duke of* NEWCASTLE *to Lord* MILTON.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, 14th December, 1745.*

I RECEIVED last night, by express, the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 9th instant, with the inclosed copies of Lord John Drummond's letter to Major-General Blakeney and Lieutenant-General Guest, and laid it immediately before the King; and I have sent his Majesty's orders to Marshal Wade, to acquaint the French drummer

that he had transmitted an account of this matter to the King, and could not return any answer to the letter till he had his Majesty's orders upon it; and in the meantime his Majesty has directed that the drummer should be so strictly kept and watched, that he may not be able to get any knowledge of the strength and condition of Mr Wade's army. I shall probably, in a short time, send Mr Wade his Majesty's further orders relating to this affair; and Lieutenant-General Guest shall be then informed whether any thing is to be done by him in consequence of the letter he received.

His Majesty is extremely sensible of your Lordship's constant care and attention to his service; and is very glad to find that the spirit of the country to resist the rebels, and to hinder them from passing the Forth, is so strong; and that you are of opinion, that a body of 3000 men may be brought together to support and assist the King's troops at Stirling, which, it is to be hoped, will be sufficient to stop the progress of the rebels. And as your Lordship acquaints me that one half of that number of men will be able to maintain themselves, or will be maintained by subscription, and desires that his Majesty will allow pay to those who cannot maintain themselves, whilst they are necessarily employed at Stirling, his Majesty has been pleased to consent to it; and has ordered me to acquaint your Lordship, that you should let General Guest

know, that if he draws bills for any sum not exceeding that mentioned in your Lordship's letter, for the services therein specified, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury have his Majesty's orders to answer them.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, that his Majesty is taking the necessary measures for having, in a short time, such a number of regular troops in Scotland as may, by the blessing of God, be sufficient to put a speedy end to the present unnatural rebellion. We are in the greatest hopes that we shall soon have the pleasure to hear of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland having come up with that body of rebels which are now retreating in great confusion towards Scotland; and in that case there is the greatest reason to hope, that his Royal Highness will have been able greatly to distress, if not entirely to reduce them.

Our latest advices from Dunkirk assure us, that the preparations that have been for some time making at that place for an embarkation, are in such forwardness, that we expect soon to hear of their being actually put to sea. It is generally thought their design is to make some attempt upon the southern or eastern coast of this kingdom, though some are of opinion that their destination is for Scotland. We have had the good fortune to take three or four of their ships going from Bou-

logne to Dunkirk with clothing and bedding for soldiers; and we have reason to hope, that the great number of ships we have now cruising will be able to prevent them from landing any troops in this kingdom. I am, with great truth and respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
Humble servant,
HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

No. XXXVII.

LETTER *from the Duke of* NEWCASTLE *to the* LORD PRESIDENT.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, Jan. 11th,* 1746.

The Marquis of Tweedale having resigned the office of one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and his Majesty having been pleased to direct that the correspondence with Scotland should be carried on by Lord Harrington and me, I could not but take the first opportunity of assuring you, that I shall have a particular pleasure in renewing a correspondence with your Lordship, with whom I have had so long an acquaintance, and for whom I have always had so sincere a regard.

My Lord Tweedale having laid before the King

your Lordship's and the Earl of Loudon's late letters to him, I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that his Majesty was pleased to order that 1000 stand of arms should be immediately sent as desired by you, with a sum of money for the payment of the troops; and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty were ordered forthwith to provide a sloop for conveying them with the utmost expedition to Inverness.

Your Lordship will have heard that his Majesty has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant-General Hawley, an officer of great ability and experience, to be Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland, and I have this day an account from Mr Hawley, that he was arrived at Edinburgh, and was making a disposition of his forces. He will soon have fourteen old battalions of foot, and three regiments of dragoons, besides the troops that have been raised at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and will also be joined by 4800 Hessians, that are ordered to land at Leith; which, with the troops raised in the Highlands, will make such a strength as there is the greatest reason to hope may, by the blessing of God, put an effectual and speedy end to the rebellion.

His Majesty is persuaded your Lordship will correspond with Lieutenant-General Hawley, and from time to time send him such intelligence, and give him such lights, as you shall think may be

useful to him in carrying on his Majesty's service; and that your Lordship will continue that zeal, activity, and vigilance, which you have so eminently exerted on occasion of the present rebellion, and of which his Majesty has the truest sense.

I shall be always glad to receive your Lordship's commands, and to shew myself, with the greatest truth and regard,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

No. XXXVIII.

LETTER—*Lord* MILTON *to General* HAWLEY.

SIR, *Edinburgh, 26th January, 1746.*

As I have by your permission been sounding the temper and inclination of the soldiers (who rather seem ashamed as disaffected,) I am afraid the shooting two soldiers, while it is not known what determination is against the officers, supposed without doors to be more guilty, may have a bad effect among the common soldiers. I therefore submit to your consideration, whether it may not be for the general good, that the execution of these private men be delayed at least for some little time.

Pardon my using this freedom, which nothing but my regard for you and the service could have induced me to take. I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ANDREW FLETCHER.

No. XXXIX.

ADDRESS *from the* CHIEFS *to* CHARLES, *after the Battle of Falkirk, advising a retreat to the North.*

Falkirk, 29th January, 1746.

WE think it our duty, in this critical juncture, to lay our opinions in the most respectful manner before your Royal Highness.

We are certain that a vast number of the soldiers of your Royal Highness's army are gone home since the battle of Falkirk; and notwithstanding all the endeavours of the commanders of the different corps, they find that this evil is increasing hourly, and not in their power to prevent. And as we are afraid Stirling Castle cannot be taken so soon as was expected, if the enemy should march before it fall into your Royal Highness's hands, we can foresee nothing but utter destruction to the few that will remain, considering the inequality of our numbers to that of the enemy. For these reasons we are humbly of opinion, that there is no

way to extricate your Royal Highness and those who remain with you out of the most imminent danger, but by retiring immediately to the Highlands, where we can be usefully employed the remainder of the winter, by taking and mastering the forts of the north; and we are morally sure we can keep as many men together as will answer that end, and hinder the enemy from following us in the mountains at this season of the year; and in spring, we doubt not but an army of 10,000 effective Highlanders can be brought together, and follow your Royal Highness wherever you think proper. This will certainly disconcert your enemies, and cannot but be approved of by your Royal Highness's friends, both at home and abroad. If a landing should happen in the meantime, the Highlanders would immediately rise, either to join them, or to make a powerful division elsewhere.

The hard marches which your army has undergone, the winter season, and now the inclemency of the weather, cannot fail of making this measure approved of by your Royal Highness's allies abroad, as well as your faithful adherents at home. The greatest difficulty that occurs to us is the saving of the artillery, particularly the heavy cannon; but better some of these were thrown into the river Forth, as that your Royal Highness, besides the danger of your own person, should risk the flower of your army, which we apprehended must inevitably be the case if this retreat be not agreed to, and

gone about without the loss of one moment; and we think that it would be the greatest imprudence to risk the whole on so unequal a chance, when there are such hopes of succour from abroad, besides the resources your Royal Highness will have from your faithful and dutiful followers at home. It is but just now we are apprised of the numbers of our own people that are gone off, besides the many sick that are in no condition to fight. And we offer this our opinion with the more freedom, that we are persuaded that your Royal Highness can never doubt of the uprightness of our intentions. Nobody is privy to this address to your Royal Highness except your subscribers; and we beg leave to assure your Royal Highness, that it is with great concern and reluctance we find ourselves obliged to declare our sentiments in so dangerous a situation, which nothing could have prevailed with us to have done, but the unhappy going off of so many men.

Signed by LORD GEORGE MURRAY,
LOCHIEL,
KEPPOCH,
CLANRONALD,
ARDSHIEL,
LOCHGARY,
SCOTHOUSE,
SIMON FRASER, Master of Lovat.

No. XL.

JOHN HAY's *Account of the Retreat from Stirling.*

BEFORE the retreat from Stirling, a plan of battle was drawn up by Lord George Murray, and shewn to Charles, who approved the plan, and corrected it with his own hand. That night Charles was unusually gay, and sat up late at Bannockburn. Lord George Murray held a council of war at Falkirk, where he was quartered; and early in the morning his Aid-de-camp came to Charles's quarters with a parcel for him from Lord George. Charles was a-bed, and Mr Hay would not allow him to be called for some time. When he got up, Hay went into the room with the dispatch. Charles opened it, and found a paper signed by Lord George Murray and many of the chiefs, advising a retreat to the north as absolutely necessary; for many of the men, they alleged, were gone home, particularly the men of Glengary's regiment. When Charles read this paper he struck his head against the wall till he staggered, and exclaimed most violently against Lord George Murray. His words were, "Good God! have I lived to see this?" He sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to Falkirk to signify his opi-

nion to the chiefs against a retreat. Sheridan returned with Keppoch and several other chiefs, who were of Lord George's opinion, and argued for a retreat.

It was afterwards known, that the account of the number of men said to be absent was greatly exaggerated. Glengary's regiment had only lost ten.

No. XLI.

LETTER—Secretary Murray *to* Cameron *of Lochiel.*

Dear Sir, *Fort Augustus, 14th March,* 1746.

I was this length to make you a visit; but upon receiving the inclosed letter, I think it better for me to return where I may possibly be of some small service, and send you my message from the Prince in writing, which is, in a few words, to hasten the siege as much as possible; and that over, he proposes your people, Keppoch's, Clanronald's, Glengary's, and the Stuart's, should march through Argyllshire, not only to correct that crew, but to give an opportunity to our few friends to join, while he, with the rest of the clans, and our Low-country people, march by the Highland road, and get to Perth before Cumberland, or join with you

in Monteith, or wherever shall be thought most proper. This our scarcity of money renders absolutely necessary, as we have no prospect of getting any unless in possession of the Lowcountry; and as Cumberland must of necessity follow us, the coast will be left clear for our friends to land.

Mr Sullivan set out the night before last with orders to follow Loudon wherever he went; and the Duke of Perth followed him yesterday with 300 Frasers; but till we have some certainty of the enemy's motions, I suppose they are ordered to stop. Lord George prevailed with the Prince to allow him to go with a regiment of his Athole brigade into Badenoch, and accordingly set out on Wednesday; but I reckon he has likewise got orders to stop. For my own part, I cannot imagine the enemy intend seriously to march towards us, but are rather making a feint to oblige us to draw together, and abandon the siege and our pursuit of Loudon; and I shall give you three reasons which persuade me to believe this. First, by being situated at Aberdeen, they are masters of the whole coast southwards, and the length of Portsoy to the north, which is within a few miles of the river Spey, so that nothing can land in these parts; whereas, if they advance to Inverness, the whole coast is open, and in case of a defeat, the river Spey behind them. Secondly, notwithstanding they give themselves out to be 10,000 strong, by all I

can learn they are not 5000, and these very sickly. There was not above 8000 regular troops in all at Falkirk; and they have at present left 500 at Perth, 500 at Blair Castle, with near the same number at the Weem; and it is positively said 1500, with the Hessians, who are still at Edinburgh; so, allowing for death and sickness, they ought not to be so many as I mention; and with such a handful I cannot believe Cumberland will be so rash as come to this country; and thereby, did the Prince incline to give him the slip, he may, after assembling all, save yours and Keppoch's, divide the army when the enemy are within two days of Inverness, send those designed for Argyllshire to Fort William, (which in all probability will then be taken,) and march his other column straight south, and either cut off the Hessians, or oblige them to retire, and to have it always in his power to fight the two bodies separately; so that, upon the whole, I do not imagine that they intend to come further than Speyside. I beg you may write me fully, and send the M'Leans without further delay. You will likewise give orders that the arms from Clanronald's country be brought up, as they are wanted for the Mackenzies, and there ought to be a great number of them. Those that were sent from Tergarf Castle I am afraid are lost. I will send you an express from Inverness immediately upon my return, with what

news we have got. My compliments to Keppoch, and the Brigadier, and all the gentlemen with you. Order David off early in the morning. I am, as ever,

My dear Sir,

Yours most affectionately,

J. MURRAY.

No. XLII.

COPY LETTER—*Lord* GEORGE MURRAY, *calling himself* De Vallignie, *to* WILLIAM HAMILTON, Esq. *of Bangour.*

MR HAMILTON, *Emerick, 5th August, 1749.*

I HAVE, by last post, your letter from Paris, by which I understand you were to go soon to Rouen, and from thence home; so I doubt if this letter can reach you before you leave France, which makes me put it under cover to Mr Lumsdane, for you never sent me an address to yourself. I wish you all happiness and contentment in the Land of Cakes, where I assure you my heart is; and though the pleasure of being there be debarred me, yet I promise you it gives me much satisfaction to know that some of my fellow-countrymen who were engaged with us, have escaped the jaws of the voracious wolves, though I am apt to believe

it was more owing to their oversight than mercy. Be that as it will, I wish from the bottom of my heart more were in the same situation, and that I were myself the only sufferer, which would make me bear my own private loss without a grudge.

I am sorry you have not finished the work you were about before you left this side; but I hope, *quod defertur non aufertur*. It would have been extremely agreeable to me to have had the pleasure of seeing you. I would have shewn you all my collection, amongst which there may be some original papers, that would have served as vouchers: though I will refuse copies to none of my friends, I do not incline to send any of the originals, which I value most, to any great distance. I do not know what route you propose to take; but if you should embark at Havre de Grace, or Dieppe, for Holland, (and I imagine there are frequent occasions,) I could hope for the pleasure of seeing you. Rotterdam is but twenty-four hours' sail from Nimmegen, and a scoot goes every day from the one to the other of these places; and Nimmegen is but four hours from this town, either by land or by water. There is also from Amsterdam to Cleves a coach twice a-week, which makes it in a day and a half by Utrecht and Arnheim. Cleves is an hour's walk from this, but the coach stops at a village, —— not above half an hour's walk from this. Mr

Ray at Rotterdam is my correspondent, and could inform you further. I shall not be any ways from this till I have your answer, or Mr Lumsdane's, and shall expect to have it by course of post.

I am persuaded you saw a copy of the letter which I wrote the 10th of May, 1746, which copy I left at the Scots College at Paris. In that letter was a pretty circumstantial account of what I knew of these two last days, (15th and 16th April, 1746;) but, to be sure, few paragraphs in that letter but could be much enlarged upon. The question you at present wish to be informed of, is, "Was your Lordship for the night attack? and if so, in what manner was you for the attack being conducted? I know the advanced guard under your Lordship's command was far enough advanced to have got in time to Nairn; but the other corps of the army did not march proportionably, so as to have made the attempt feasible by attacking all at once. That transaction I think should be cleared up; and I am persuaded your Lordship has no reason to wish it should be otherwise." Now, sir, I shall make an answer to your demand in as few words as I can; for, as you observe, I have no reason to wish but that this matter, (and indeed every other,) should be cleared up; for doing so will satisfy others, as well as do me justice.

I was for the night attack, as well as all the

principal officers who were spoken to upon the subject, provided it could be done before two in the morning, so as to surprise the enemy; which, if it could have been done, there were hopes of success. Our reason for being for this attempt was, that as his Royal Highness had declared two days before, he was resolved to attack the enemy without waiting for those who were to join us; (the expression was, had he but a thousand men he would attack them;) and it was that day (the fifteenth) resolved not to abandon Inverness, (because I suppose so much of the army's baggage was there) but to wait the enemy in that plain moor. My opinion, and that of the chiefs, (at least those who were present) was to retire to a strong ground on the other side of the water of Nairn; where, if the Duke of Cumberland should attack us, we were persuaded we could have given a good account of him; and if he did not venture to cross that water, and come up to us there, we proposed (if no opportunity offered to attack him to advantage) to retire farther, and draw him up to the mountains, where we thought, without doubt, we might attack him at some pass or strong ground. This, I say, was proposed; and, to the best of my knowledge, it was the general opinion of the commanding officers, for they were not all present; nor was a council of war held at that time, nor any time after the one at Fairnton, which his Royal Highness called after the retreat

from Stirling. I sent Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Carr, about mid-day (his Royal Highness and many of the officers being present when I gave them the directions) to view the ground on the other side of the water; as I was myself persuaded of the strength of that situation. They returned about three o'clock, and their report was entirely conformable to what I had said. Notwithstanding this, it was determined not to take that ground, as perhaps the enemy might pass on to Inverness without attacking us. It was also said, that there was no provisions: this last was indeed a great article, which had been unaccountably neglected; and yet I was convinced there was enough at Inverness, which might even then have been brought out; part to where we were, and the rest sent towards Loch Moy, where our army must have retired, if the Duke of Cumberland did not cross the water at Nairn, and give us an opportunity of fighting him to advantage. It was after Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Carr's return, past three in the afternoon, that the night attack, and surprising the enemy, was agreed upon, rather than to fight upon that plain moor. The army was to have marched in a body, till they passed the house of Kilraick; then the van, making about one third part of the army, which I commanded, was to have crossed the river of Nairn, and marching on the south side, while the other two third parts of the

army marched on the north side, till both of them came near the Duke's camp. Then the van was to have crossed the river again, and attacked the King's army from the south, while the other part of the army was to have attacked them from the west. This was the plan, and we got very good guides. You are to observe, it was agreed, that if we could make this attack by one o'clock in the morning, or at the least at two, we might have had great hopes of success; but no one ever imagined we could attempt it later. Betwixt six and seven at night, a little before the march should have begun, the men went off on all hands, and in great numbers, to shift for themselves, both for provisions and quarters: many officers were sent after them, but all to no purpose. I am positive to the number of 2000 men went off before the march began: then, indeed, I do not know of one officer who had been made acquainted with the resolution of surprising the enemy, but declared in the strongest terms for laying it aside; much was spoken by them all for not attempting it then; but his Royal Highness continued bent on the thing, and gave me orders to march, (he embraced me at the same time) which I immediately did: it was then eight at night, or past it. I marched at the head of the line, (not of an advanced guard, as you term it) which all followed in order, as they had been drawn up that day. I had then great hopes that in six

hours time we might have been upon the enemy; and if the line had all marched at an equal pace, I still believe we might have been at Nairn by two in the morning. I had not marched half a mile till I was stopped by a message, that the half of the line were at a considerable distance, and ordered to halt till they should join. Though I did not halt, yet I marched slow; hoping that might do: but all to no purpose. I am positive I was stopped, by aid-de-camps and other officers sent for the same purpose, fifty times before I had marched six miles; that is to say, opposite to the house of Kilraick,* and now it was two o'clock of the morning; for I believe ten watches were looked, at a little house or two, just as the van got out of the wood of Kilraick. By this time most of the officers of distinction were come to the van, and there was a halt; for in the wood of Kilraick there was, amongst several, one very great defile, occasioned by a stone wall. For when I was marching slowly, to give the line time to join, the Duke of Perth (James,) who was as keen as any man in the army, crossed the narrow road with his horse, and said it was impossible the line could join if I did not halt; and this was the first full halt the van made; for when I had information that the lines were not

* Kilraick, or Kilravock.

joined, I always chose to march slow; for a halt in the van always occasions a much greater one in the rear, when the march begins again; whereas by marching slow, the rear may join without that inconvenience. It was at this halt (which was not above a quarter of an hour) that the watches were looked, and it was found to be two o'clock in the morning. Several of the officers that came from the rear assured us, that many of the men had left the ranks, and had laid down, particularly in the wood of Kilraick. This must have been occasioned by faintness for want of food, for it could not be weariness in a six miles march. You will observe, from what I have said, the van could not be at Nairn, or were not advanced far enough (as you imagined) to have got there in time. What I am persuaded of is, that if all the line had marched as quickly as the four or five first regiments, they might all have been at or near Nairn by two in the morning; but the van, as the thing happened, were four full miles from Nairn at two in the morning. At this halt, all the principal officers, who were come to the van, agreed that the thing was now impossible. A surprise was designed, but now it was palpable they could not, even by a quick march, advance two miles before day-break, so that they must be for two miles in the enemy's sight before they could come at them: add to this, that the officers were also convinced, that they had not

half of the men that had been drawn up the day before. Mr O'Sullivan also came up to the front, and said his Royal Highness would be very glad to have the attack made; but as Lord George Murray was in the van, he could best judge whether it could be done in time or not. Perhaps Mr O'Sullivan may chuse to forget this, but others are still alive who heard him. But suppose this had not been so, there was not one officer present that thought it possible to make an attack, when they could not have hopes of surprising the enemy. I desired every body to give their opinions: Mr Hepburn, one of the volunteers, said, that though it were day-light, the red coats would be drunk with solemnizing the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day, &c.: but no one officer was of that opinion. To get back to Culloden, so as the men could have some hours' refreshment, was what they all agreed in. The Prince was a mile back, and no way in the dark to ride through the wood but by the line, where the men were; and in some places it was very narrow; so it would be a work of a considerable time to have sent back and fore. All the officers being thus unanimous, it was agreed to march back with as much expedition as possible, which I ordered accordingly; and most of them were at or near Culloden by five in the morning; for they returned in two lines, and had not the same reason to make circumferences to shun houses in the

return, which they had in advancing; I mean that of a discovery. I am certain, as things were situated, had we advanced from Kilraick to Nairn, it would have been near five before we could have reached it, and made the dispositions that it would have been requisite to make in our army, before we attacked the enemy. No person, who knows the truth, can find fault with this retreat. The design was a surprise and an attack upon the enemy before break of day. I never yet heard of one man who thought it was to have been done in another way. We had not half of our men; and it was found impossible to make the attack in the time it was proposed. What then could be done? was there any thing left but to retire as quick as possible, so as the men might have a little rest and refreshment, in case they must fight that day?

I take it for granted it is by the rectitude of a measure, not by the success, that a thing of this nature is to be weighed. I shall make one plain and natural supposition: Had we after this retired to a strong ground, (which was our opinion,) and we might have done it when the enemy were even in sight;—had we fought upon such ground and proved successful, which I verily believe we had a very good chance for, would then this measure of a retreat from Kilravock have been found fault with? or had we been so advantageously situated upon the south side of the water of Nairn,

that the Duke of Cumberland would not have ventured to have attacked us, (which might have been the case,) and that we had drawn him up afterwards to passes in the mountains, harassed him, cut off some of his convoys, and at last defeated him, would then the retreat from Kilravock have been well spoken of? Why what I have now mentioned was not performed, let them answer who were determined against a hill campaign, as they called it. What I can aver is, that myself and most of the clans, at least all those I spoke with, were for this operation; and his Royal Highness could have supported the fatigue as well as any person in the army. It is true, Sir Thomas Sheridan, &c. could not have undergone it; so we were obliged to be undone for their ease. As to provisions, had I been allowed to have any direction, we would not have wanted (though perhaps not the best) for years, as long as there were cattle in the Highlands, or meal in the Lowlands. Now, sir, I know there is one thing that evil-disposed people lay hold upon; not that they can say the measure was wrong, or that it could have been otherwise, but that they are resolved to lay the blame on somebody, and I am pitched upon. They say, why return from Kilraick without the Prince's positive orders? he was general—and without his immediate orders no person should have taken so much upon him. My answer to this is, (waiving what Mr O'Sullivan

said from the Prince,) that all the officers were unanimous;—that, as it could not be done by surprise, and before day-break, as had been proposed, and undertaken with no other view, it was impossible to have success; for it was never imagined by any one, that it was to be attempted but by a surprise. Whatever may be the rules in a regular army, (and it is not to be supposed I was ignorant of them,) our practice had all along been, at critical junctures, that the commanding officers did every thing to their knowledge for the best. At Gladsmuir, (the plan of which attack I had formed,) I was the last that passed the defile of the first line, and the first that attacked; and gained, in going on, a good part of the ground we had left betwixt us and the main ditch, by the front having, on account of the darkness, marched a little too far. When I came up with the enemy's cannon, I did not stop to take them, but went on, against both foot and dragoons, being very quickly followed by our right. I received no orders (nor did I wait for any, otherwise the opportunity would have been lost) from the time I passed the defile till the battle was over. At Clifton, where I expected to have been supported by all our army, John Roy Stuart brought me orders from the Prince to retreat, for he had ordered the march for Carlisle, which was begun. The officers who were with me agreed in my opinion, that to retreat when the

enemy were within less than musket-shot, would be very dangerous, and we would probably be destroyed before we came up with the rest of our army. We had nothing for it but a brisk attack; and therefore, after receiving the enemy's fire, we went in sword in hand and dislodged them; after which we made our retreat in good order. I own I disobeyed orders; but what I did was the only safe and honourable measure I could take, and it succeeded. At the battle of Falkirk I never received an order or message from his Royal Highness after I passed the water at Dunipace, till the battle was over. I could say much more on this subject: all I shall now add is, that, at the time we returned from Kilravock, there was no officer of any distinction with the Prince, (except Sir Thomas Sheridan be reckoned one,) they being all in the van. Brigadier Stapleton was indeed in the rear, but he knew nothing of the ground there; and his people were only to have been a corps de reserve, and not in the attack. If I have ever the pleasure of seeing you, I can explain many things which I do not wish to commit to writing.

I have a friend in Scotland who will give you copies of most of my papers; but, were it possible, I wish you saw them here. Wishing you all health and prosperity, I am,

Dear sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

DE VALIGNIE.

[William Hamilton, of Bangour, Esq. was a gentleman eminent for his wit and classical learning; but having been engaged in the rebellion, he undertook to write a history of it; and for that purpose, Lord George Murray and others furnished him with a good many papers relative to that business. But Mr Hamilton never made any considerable progress in the work he had undertaken; and his son, the present Mr Hamilton of Bangour, was so good as to give Mr Home a copy of some of his father's papers; amongst which is the Remonstrance of the Chiefs to Charles, which occasioned the retreat from Stirling, and the preceding letter from Lord George Murray.]

No. XLIII.

JOHN HAY'S *Account of the Retreat after the Night March to attack the Duke's Army at Nairn.*

AT the halt, which was the last of a good many, Hay came up, and heard Lord George Murray arguing against going on, particularly with Hepburn of Keith. He immediately rode back to Charles, who was in the rear of the first column, and told him, that if he did not come to the front of the

army, and order Lord George Murray to go on, there would be nothing done. Charles, who was on horseback, set out immediately, and, riding pretty fast, met the Highlanders marching back. He was extremely incensed, and said, Lord George Murray had betrayed him.

[The author of this History, perplexed with these contradictory accounts of this and every other retreat given by Lord George Murray and John Hay, mentioned the difficulty he was under to Mr Geddes, the Roman Catholic Bishop at Edinburgh. The Bishop told him, that he corresponded with several persons at Rome, who saw the Prince very often, and if Mr Home would give him the queries which he wished to have answered, he might depend upon having an answer from Rome in a very few weeks. Mr Home then gave him three queries concerning the retreats, the principal one of which was, Had Lord George Murray, in the night march from Culloden to attack the Duke's army, begun the retreat without orders?]

No. XLIV.

ANSWER *by* CHARLES, *called the Count of* ALBANY, *at Rome.*

LORD GEORGE MURRAY led the van of the army in the night march, and M. le Comte marched in the rear. Upon the army's halting, M. le Comte rode up to the front to inquire the occasion of the halt. Upon his arrival Lord George Murray convinced M. le Comte of the unavoidable necessity of retreating.

[This answer which Charles made to the query, when compared with Lord George Murray's account of the night retreat, is a proof that no person who does not commit to writing an account of events which he has seen, can be certain, when some years have passed, not only of what happened in his presence, but even of what he himself did or said.]

No. XLV.

NARRATIVE *of* FLORA MACDONALD, *giving an Account of her Interviews with* CHARLES *in the Long Island, and the manner in which she conducted him to the Isle of Skye.*

MRS MACDONALD first saw Prince Charles in South Uist. She then resided in the family of Angus Macdonald of Milton, her brother. Mrs Macdonald, (then Miss Macdonald) being upon a visit in Clanronald's family, saw one Colonel O'-Neale there, a native of Ireland, a French officer, and constant attendant of Prince Charles in his distressed state. Miss Macdonald expressed an earnest inclination to see the Prince, and said, that provided she could in any degree prove serviceable in saving him from his enemies, she would with all her heart.

Colonel O'Neale then proposed to Miss Macdonald to take the Prince as her maid, dressed in women's clothes, and conduct him to Skye. This undertaking appeared to her so fantastical and dangerous, that she positively declined it. A Macdonald, a Macleod, and a Campbell militia, were then in South Uist in quest of the Prince: a guard was posted at every ferry: every boat was seized: no person could travel out of the country

without a passport; and the channel between Uist and Skye was covered with ships of war. Soon after this conversation the Colonel introduced the Prince to Miss Macdonald at a farm belonging to her brother. The Prince at this time was in a state of bad health, of a thin and weak habit of body, and greatly exhausted with fatigue and want of proper accommodation. Under these calamities he possessed a cheerfulness, magnanimity, and fortitude, remarkably great, and incredible to all but such as saw him then. Miss Macdonald was so strongly impressed with his critical and forlorn state, that she instantly consented to conduct him to Skye.

Leaving the Prince and his conductor at the farm, Miss Macdonald, without loss of time, repaired to Clanronald's family, to provide the necessary requisites for the voyage to Skye. She procured a passport from Captain Hugh Macdonald, who commanded the Macdonald militia in South Uist. Captain Macdonald was father-in-law to Miss Macdonald. The Prince was denominated Betty Burke in the passport, and recommended by Captain Macdonald to his wife at Armadale in Skye, as an excellent spinster of flax, and a faithful servant.

The night before the Prince left South Uist, he very narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. Miss Macdonald having procured an open boat, with six

hands, and every other necessary, walked along the shore to the distance of a mile from Clanronald's house, where, according to appointment, the Prince (dressed in female apparel) and the Colonel met her. As the Prince, along with Lady Clanronald, Miss Macdonald, and the Colonel, were in the evening taking supper upon the seaside, a messenger came to Lady Clanronald, informing her, that General Campbell and Captain Ferguson were in her house in quest of Prince Charles. She instantly repaired home. Soon after her departure, four armed cutters appeared on the coast. They were so close to the shore, that they could not get away unobserved by the soldiers on board, and therefore skulked among the rocks till the cutters passed them.

The day following being calm and serene, the Prince, Miss Macdonald, and the six boatmen, set out in the morning for Skye. As the boat was passing the point of Vaternish in Skye, a party of the Macleod militia stationed there observing it, ran to the shore with their guns, and levelled them at the boat. The tide being out, the boat got out of their reach before they could get so near as to force them to land, or launch out a boat to pursue them. The boat landed at Mugstole, the family seat of Macdonald. Miss Macdonald dined with Lady Margaret Macdonald, and after dinner she and the Prince (still disguised as her maid) set out for

Kingsburgh, where they arrived in the evening, and lodged that night. Next day the Prince went to a hill, near the house of Kingsburgh, and put on a Highland dress. Miss Macdonald accompanied him to Portree, and left him there. He was then greatly restored to health, had recovered much strength, and was in good spirits. Miss Macdonald went to Armadale, to her step-father's house.

The men who ferried the Prince and Miss Macdonald to Skye were, after their return, suspected of what they had done, and being apprehended, were forced to make a confession.

Captain Macleod, of Talisker, (now Colonel Macleod) who commanded the militia in Skye, ordered a party to go to Armadale, and apprehend Miss Macdonald. They took her prisoner, and gave her up to a body of fuzileers, who delivered her to General Campbell, at that time on board Captain Ferguson's ship, which lay between Sconcer and Rasay. She was on board this ship twenty-two days. General Campbell treated her with much humanity and politeness, and afterwards consigned her to Admiral Smith, on the coast of Lorn, in Argyllshire. This most worthy gentleman treated her not as a stranger, nor as a prisoner, but with the affection of a parent.

No. XLVI.

CLUNY'S *Account of* LOCHIEL *and himself, after the Battle of Culloden; of their meeting with* CHARLES; *and the extraordinary Habitation called the Cage, where* CHARLES *lived with them till he received notice that two French Frigates were arrived at Lochnanuagh.*

AFTER the fatal catastrophe of the Highland army at Culloden, upon the 16th of April, 1746, they meant to make head again about Auchnicarry, till, upon Lord Loudon's approach with an army, the few that had got together were made to disperse. Lochiel being then bad of his wounds, was obliged to shift from his own country to the Braes of Rannoch; near which, about the 20th of June, in a hill called Benouchk, Cluny Macpherson met him, and Sir Stuart Threipland, physician, who attended him for the cure of his wounds. Cluny brought them from thence to Benalder, a hill of great circumference in that part of Badenoch next to Rannoch, and his own ordinary grassings, where they remained together without ever getting any certain notice of what had become of the Prince for near three months, when they received the agreeable news of his being safe at Locharkaik,

from one John Macpherson, a tenant of Lochiel's, who was sent by Cameron of Clunes to find out Lochiel and Cluny, in order to acquaint them that his Royal Highness was safe, and where he was to be found.

Upon Macpherson's return to Clunes, the Prince being informed where Lochiel and Cluny were, he sent Lochgary and Dr Archibald Cameron with a message to them. When these gentlemen met with Lochiel and Cluny, it was concerted among them, that the Prince should come to their asylum, as the safest place for him to pass some time; on which Lochgary and Dr Cameron immediately returned to his Royal Highness, to acquaint him of the resolution taken by his friends; and that Cluny would, on a certain day, meet his Royal Highness at Auchnicarry, in order to conduct him to Badenoch.

Upon the return of Lochgary and Dr Cameron to the Prince, they having set off a day or two before Cluny, his Royal Highness was so impatient to be with his two friends, whom he had not for a long time seen, that he would not wait for Cluny's coming to Auchnicarry, but, expecting to meet Cluny on the way, set out with guides for Badenoch. The Prince arrived in Badenoch the 29th of August, having in the meantime missed Cluny, who went on to Auchnicarry, where he was acquainted of the turn his Royal Highness had ta-

ken; on which he made all the dispatch possible to join him, but did not come up with his Royal Highness till a day or two after his arrival in Badenoch.

The Prince lay the first night at Corineuir, after his coming to Badenoch, from which he was conducted next day to Mellanauir, a shieling of very narrow compass, where Lochiel, with Macpherson of Breakachie, Allan Cameron, his principal servant, and two servants of Cluny, were at the time. It cannot but be remarked, that, when Lochiel saw five men approaching under arms, being the Prince, Lochgary, Dr Cameron, and two servants, taking the five men to be of the army or militia, who lay encamped not above four or five miles from them, and were probably in search of them; as it was in vain to think of flying, Lochiel at the time being quite lame, and not in any condition to travel, much less to run away, it was resolved that the enemy, as they judged them to be, should be received with a general discharge of all the arms, in number twelve firelocks and some pistols, which they had in the small shieling-house, or bothie, (as such small huts are commonly called,) in which they at the time lodged. Whereupon all was made ready, the pieces planted and levelled, and, in short, they flattered themselves of getting the better of the searchers, there being no more than their own number; and likewise considerin

the great advantage they had of firing at them without being at all observed, and the conveniency of so many spare arms. But the auspicious hand of Almighty God, and his providence, so apparent at all times in the preservation of his Royal Highness, prevented those within from firing at the Prince with his four attendants, for they came at last so near that they were known by those within. Lochiel, upon making this discovery, made the best of his way, though lame, to meet his Royal Highness, who received him very graciously. The joy at this meeting is much easier to be conceived than expressed. And when Lochiel would have kneeled, on coming up to the Prince, "O no, my dear Lochiel," said his Royal Highness, clapping him on the shoulder, "we do not know who may be looking from the top of yonder hills; and if they see any such motions, they will immediately conclude that I am here." Lochiel then ushered him into his habitation, which was indeed but a very poor one. The Prince was gay, and in better spirits than it was possible to think he could have been, considering the many disasters, disappointments, fatigues, and difficulties, he had undergone. His Royal Highness, with his retinue, went into the hut; and there was more meat and drink provided for him than he expected. There was plenty of mutton, an anker of whisky, containing twenty Scots pints, some good beef sausages made the

year before, with plenty of butter and cheese, besides a large well-cured bacon ham. Upon his entry the Prince took a hearty dram, which he sometimes called for thereafter, to drink the healths of his friends. When some minced collops were dressed with butter, in a large sauce-pan, which Lochiel and Cluny carried always about with them, being the only fire vessel they had, his Royal Highness ate heartily, and said, with a very cheerful countenance, "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince;" though at the same time he was no otherwise entertained than eating his collops out of the pan with a silver spoon. After dinner he asked Lochiel if he had always lived here, during his skulking, in such a good way. "Yes, sir," answered Lochiel, "for near three months that I have been hereabouts with my cousin Cluny, he has provided for me so well, that I have had plenty of such as you see; and I thank Heaven your Royal Highness has got through so many dangers to take a part."

In two days after, his Royal Highness went and lodged with Lochiel at Mellanauir, to which place Cluny came to them from Auchnicarry. Upon his entering the hut, when he would have kneeled, his Royal Highness prevented him, and kissed him as if he had been an equal; saying, "I am sorry, Cluny, you and your regiment were not at Culloden: I did not hear, till very lately, that you were so near us that day."

The day after Cluny arrived, he thought it time to remove from Mellanauir, and took the Prince about two miles further into Benalder, to a little shiel called Uiskchibra, where the hut or bothie was superlatively bad and smoky; yet his Royal Highness put up with every thing. Here he remained for two or three nights, and then removed to a very romantic habitation, made for him by Cluny, two miles farther into Benalder, called the Cage; which was a great curiosity, and can scarcely be described to perfection. It was situated in the face of a very rough, high, and rocky mountain, called Letternilichk, still a part of Benalder, full of great stones and crevices, and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation called the Cage, in the face of that mountain, was within a small thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down, in order to level a floor for the habitation; and as the place was steep, this raised the lower side to an equal height with the other; and these trees, in the way of joists or planks, were levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which, with the trees, were interwoven with ropes, made of heath and birch twigs, up to the top of the Cage, it being of a round or rather oval shape; and the whole thatched and covered over with fog. This whole fabric hung, as it were, by a large tree, which re-

clined from the one end, all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage; and by chance there happened to be two stones at a small distance from one another, in the side next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a chimney, where the fire was placed. The smoke had its vent out here, all along the face of the rock, which was so much of the same colour, that one could discover no difference in the clearest day. The Cage was no larger than to contain six or seven persons; four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking. Here his Royal Highness remained till the 13th of September, when he was informed, that the vessels for receiving and carrying him to France were arrived at Lochnanuagh. The Prince set out immediately; and travelling only by night, arrived at Boradale near Lochnanuagh, on the 19th of September, and embarked there on the 20th.

[The original of this paper, which was dictated by Cluny, and written by one who had a very bad hand, has several words which are not legible; but when the author of this History had caused a copy of it to be made, fairly written, he was sensible that he had mistaken the sense of the original; particularly in that part of it where Cluny says, that after the battle of Culloden, the High-

landers meant to make head again about Auchnicarry. As Mr Home had obtained from the present Macpherson of Cluny, many of his father's papers and letters, concerning the rebellion, he had recourse to that collection, and found there, an account of a plan, formed by certain chiefs and heads of clans, to take arms after the battle of Culloden; with several letters, containing an account of this design, and the manner in which it was defeated.]

No. XLVII.

RESOLUTIONS *by the* REBEL CHIEFS, *after the Battle of Culloden.*

At Muirlaggan, the 8th of May,* 1746.

WE, subscribers, heads of clans, commanders and leaders, do hereby unanimously agree, and solemnly promise forthwith, with the utmost expedition, to raise in arms, for the interest of his Royal Highness Charles Prince of Wales, and in defence of our country, all the able-bodied men that all and

* There are two Muirlaggans, one in Lochaber, and one in Badenoch.

every one of us can command or raise, within our respective interests or properties.

Item, We hereby promise and agree, that the following clans, viz. Lochiel, Glengary, Clanronald, Stewarts of Appin, Keppoch, Barrisdale, Mackinnon, and Macleods, shall rendezvous on Thursday next, the 15th instant, at Auchnicarry, in the braes of Lochaber.

Item, We also promise and agree, that neither of us shall discover or reveal, to any of our men or inferior officers, the resolutions of our present meeting; or the day and place appointed for our rendezvous, till such time as our respective corps are assembled.

Item, To facilitate the junction of our army with all possible speed, it is agreed, that the Frasers of Aird, and others our friends on the north side of the river Ness, shall join the people of Glenmoriston and Glengary; and that the Frasers of Stratherrick, the Mackintoshes, and Macphersons, shall assemble and meet at the most convenient place in Badenoch, on Thursday the 15th current.

Item, The Macgregors, Menzies, and Glenlyon's people, shall march to Rannoch, and join the Rannoch and Athole men; and be ready to receive intelligence and orders to meet the main body in the braes of Mar, or any other place that shall be most convenient.

Item, It is agreed, that Major-general Gordon of Glenbucket, and Colonel Roy Stuart, shall advertise Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord Ogilvie, Lord Pitsligo, the Farquharsons, and the other principal gentlemen of the north, with the resolutions taken at this meeting; and that they shall agree among themselves as to a place of rendezvous, so as to be able to join the army where it shall be judged most proper.

Item, That Cluny Macpherson, and Colonel Roy Stuart, shall advertise the principal gentlemen of the Macintoshes of our resolutions.

Item, It is agreed, that there shall only be one captain, lieutenant, and ensign, two serjeants, and two corporals to every company of forty men; and an adjutant, quarter-master, and surgeon, to every regiment.

Item, That every corps shall appoint an officer and a number of men, not exceeding twelve, to remain in the country; with ample powers to punish deserters, who, immediately at their first appearance in the country, are to be hanged; unless they can produce a pass or furlough from a general officer.

Lastly, We further promise and engage ourselves, each to the other, to stand and abide by these our resolutions, for the interest of his Royal Highness, and the good of our country, which we apprehend to be inseparable, to the last drop of our

blood; and never to lay down our arms, or make a separate peace, without the general consent of the whole. And in case any one engaged in this association shall make separate terms for himself, he shall be looked upon as a traitor to his Prince, and treated by us as an enemy.

[This copy of the resolutions to take arms, dated Muirlaggan, May 8th, is not signed; but it is evident from the names of the clans mentioned in that paper, and from the letters of Lochiel, Cluny, and Secretary Murray, which follow in the Appendix, that almost every chief and chieftain, who escaped from the battle of Culloden, had agreed to the resolutions; nor is it at all surprising, that no signed copy of the resolutions has been found, for the houses of Lochiel, Cluny, and most of the rebel chiefs, were set on fire and destroyed by the King's troops, when they came from Inverness to Fort Augustus; so that no papers were preserved, but those which, before the arrival of the troops, had been buried in places where the ground was very dry.]

No. XLVIII.

LETTER *from* LOCHIEL *to* CLUNY.

DEAR SIR, *Locharkaik, May 13th, 1746.*

I HAVE nothing new to acquaint you of. We are preparing for a summer campaign, and hope soon to join all our forces. Mr Murray desires, if any of the pickets, or the men of Lord John Drummond's regiment, or any other pretty fellows, are straggling in your country, that you convene them, and keep them with yourself till we join you; and give them money if you have any to spare. If not, send a trusty person here, and what money will be necessary for them, or other emergencies, shall be remitted to you. I have scarcely a sufficiency of meal to serve myself and the gentlemen who are with me, for four days, and can get none to purchase in this country; so I beg you will send, by the bearer, as much meal as the two horses I have sent will carry; and I shall pay, at meeting, whatever price you think proper for it, besides a thousand thanks for the favour. I have not yet heard of the man I sent from your house towards Inverness to get intelligence. You sent one of your men along with him. Let me know if you had any account of him, or of the woman sent to Edinburgh,

with any news you have from the south or north. Mr Murray sent an express to Mr Seton, and to ——, desiring they should come to him without loss of time. He is surprised what detains them, and begs you will desire them to hasten.

I am yours,

DONALD CAMERON.

No. XLIX.

LETTER—SECRETARY MURRAY *to* MACPHERSON *of Cluny.*

DEAR SIR, *Invermely, May, 19th, 1746.*

IT has not been possible, for numberless reasons, to keep the time fixed upon at our meeting; neither will the ammunition be here before Friday night, by which time I hope we will have many more men than have yet appeared; but you may depend upon it I shall advertise you twenty-four hours before we march from this. Lochiel, Barrisdale, and Lochgary, offer you their kind compliments: and I am, most sincerely, my dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

JO. MURRAY.

No. L.

LETTER *from* LOCHIEL *to some of the Chiefs who had agreed to take arms.*

GENTLEMEN, *May 25th*, 1746.

I send you this, to acquaint you of the reasons of our not being in your country ere now, as I last wrote you. Our assembling was not so general nor hearty as was expected, for Clanronald's people would not leave their own country, and many of Glengary's have delivered up their arms; so that but few came with Lochgary to Invermely on Tuesday last, where he staid but one night, and crossed Locharkaik with his men, promising to return with a greater number in two days, and that he would guard the passes on that side; neither of which was done, nor have we had any return from the Master of Lovat; so that there was only a few men with Barrisdale, and what men I had on this side of Lochy, who marched Wednesday night to Auchnicarry, where, trusting to Lochgary's information, we had almost been surprised on Friday morning, had we not learned by other look-outs, that the enemy was marching from Fort Augustus towards us; upon which we advanced, thinking to make them halt; but their numbers were so much superior, that it had no effect, and we were almost

surrounded by a party that came by the moor on the side of Locharkaik, who actually took an officer and two men of mine, which made us retreat for twelve miles; and there, considering our situation, it was thought both prudent and proper to disperse, rather than carry the fire into your country without a sufficient number, as was expected. It is now the opinion of Mr Murray, Major Kenneday, Barrisdale, and all present, that your people should separate, and keep themselves as safe as possible, and keep their arms, as we have great expectations of the French doing something for us, or until we have their final resolutions what they are to do. I think they have little encouragement from the government, as they get no assurances of safety but for six weeks. I beg you will acquaint all your neighbours of this, viz. the Mackintoshes, Macgregors, &c. for at present it is very inconvenient for me to acquaint them from this; and be so good as let us hear from you as oft as possible; and when there is any thing extraordinary, you may expect to hear of it, and the particulars of the enemy's motions. Let me hear from you by the bearer, who will find me: and when any of you write to me, please direct as the bearer shall inform you, and let him know how I shall address to you. I am,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

DONALD CAMERON.

P. S.—As Cluny has an easier opportunity of sending to the Master of Lovat than I, it is begged of him to send a double of this to the Master, to let him know what is doing. The above is our present resolutions, and what I have advised all my people to do, as the best and safest course, and the interest of the public; yet some of them have delivered up their arms without my knowledge; and I cannot take it upon me to direct in this particular, but to give my opinion, and let every one judge for himself.

No. LI.

Extracts made from his Majesty's State Papers relative to Scotland, in the Year 1745-6.

By Order of Lord Hawkesbury, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, dated July 7th, 1801, the following extracts were made from his Majesty's State Papers, and delivered to John Home, Esq.

Extract of Sir John Cope's Letter to the Marquis of Tweedale, dated Lauder, Sept. 21, 1745.

"The battle was fought on a field near Prestonpans.—I cannot give any account of the number

of killed or wounded;—the whole baggage taken, and the military chest and papers belonging to it."

Statement of the effective force of the army, under the command of General Hawley, from the return, dated Jan. 13th, 1746.

" Dragoons . . . 519
" Infantry . . . 5488"

Return of killed at the battle of Falkirk, Jan. 17th, 1746.

" Officers . . . 12
" Privates . . . 55
" Killed, wounded, and missing . . 280"

Statement of the effective force of the army, under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, from the return, dated at Aberdeen, March 28, 1746.

" Effective rank and file . . . 7179"

Extract of a letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, dated Spey Mouth, April 13, 1746.

"According to my dispatch of the 6th, continued to the 7th, we marched the 8th from Aberdeen; but instead of joining at Fochabers, we encamped the 11th at Cullen, where Lord Albemarle joined us, and the whole was got together; and yesterday we marched to the Spey, and passed it with no other loss than one dragoon and four women drowned."

Extract of a letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, dated Inverness, April 18, 1746.

"THE three lines of foot, (reckoning the reserve for one) were broke into three from the right, which made the three columns equal, and each of five battalions. The cavalry made the fourth column in the left."

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, at the battle of Culloden, April 16th, 1746.

" Killed—Captains . . .	2	
" Serjeants . . .	3	
" Drummer . . .	1	
" Rank and File .	44	
		——50
" Wounded—Lieut.-Col. .	1	
" Captains . . .	7	
" Lieutenants . .	4	
" Ensigns . . .	5	
" Serjeants . . .	7	
" Drummers . .	2	
" Rank and File	233	
		——259
" Missing		1
		310"

(Examined).

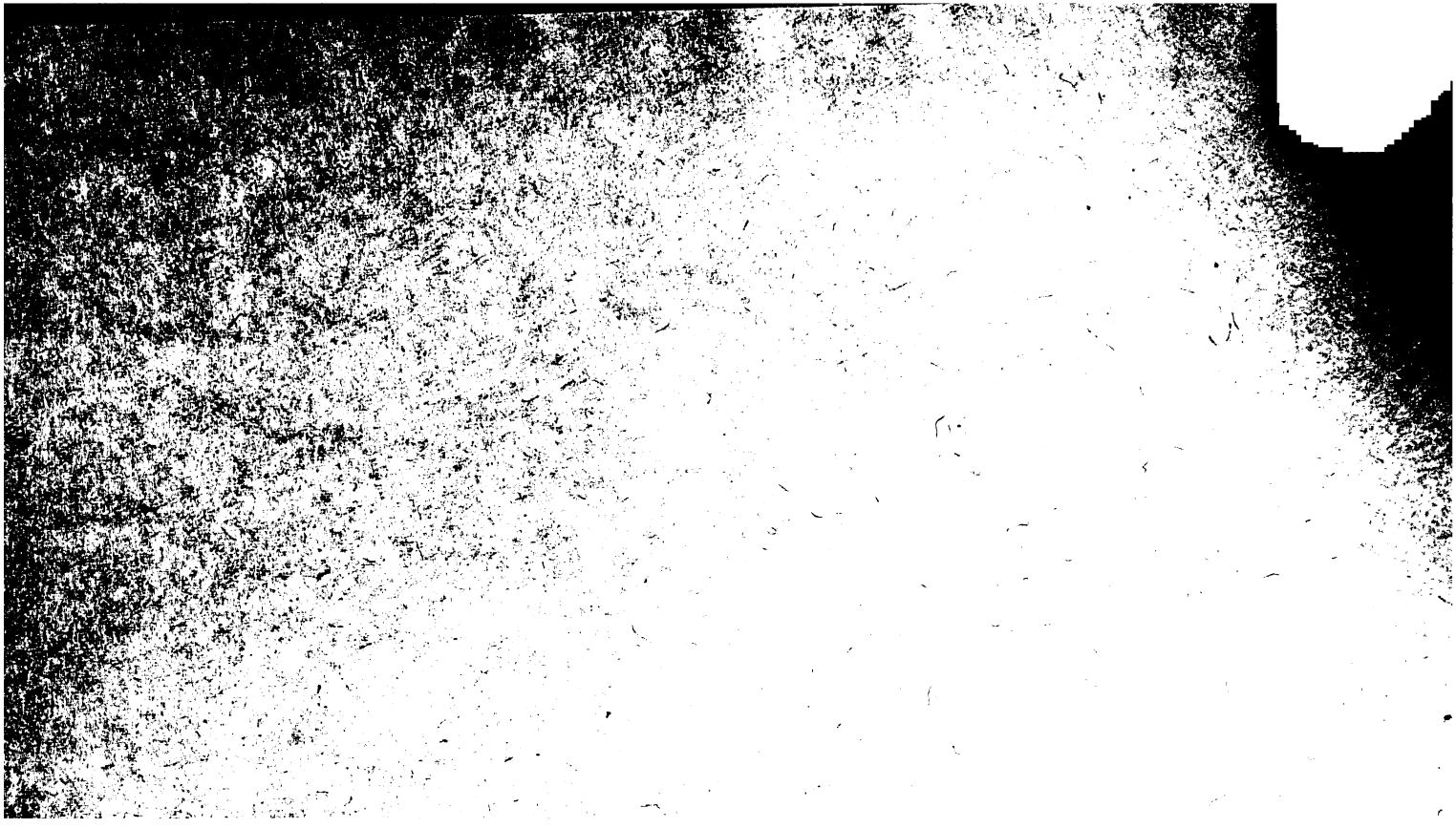
JOHN BRUCE,
Keeper of State Papers.

State Paper Office,
July 14, 1801.

FINIS.

ADDENDUM.

Page 225, after line 13, add—"Robert Nairn, an East Lothian gentleman, and nephew of Mr Hepburn of Keith, (who has been frequently mentioned in the History,) was deputy paymaster of the rebel army. At the battle of Culloden, he advanced with the Athole brigade, which lost so many men by the fire of the King's troops, and of the field-pieces loaded with grape-shot, that the brigade was not able to go on, and halted.

"Mr Nairn left the brigade when it halted, and, joining the next regiment, which was Lochiel's, he advanced with the Camerons, who attacked Barrel's regiment, which was so completely broken, that Mr Nairn, some years after the Rebellion, told the author of this History, that he saw only two of Barrel's men standing; one of them was a grenadier, who pushed his bayonet into Mr Nairn's eye, and brought him to the ground, where he lay all night insensible of his condition, for he had received a good many wounds as he advanced with the brigade. Next day he was carried to Inverness, and by the care of some medical students, (his companions at the university,) who had been brought from Edinburgh to assist the regimental surgeons in case of a battle, his wounds were cured, and by their help he was enabled to make his escape from Inverness, and get to Edinburgh."

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